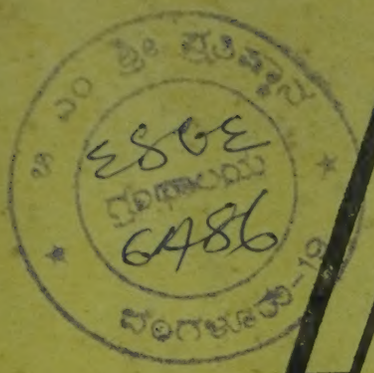
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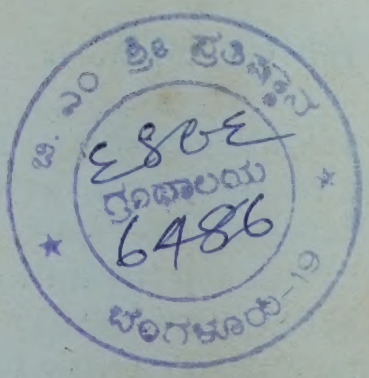
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K. P. Bhat

International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics



VERBAL BASES AS A SUB-CLASS OF NOUN

R. Kothandaraman
International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum.

1. George Lakoff (1970 : 115–133) has presented several arguments on the basis of distributional similarities of verbs and adjectives for allowing adjective to be dominated by Verb node. Adjectives and verbs, Lakoff considers, "are members of a single lexical category" i.e., Verb. He observes that adjectives differ from Verbs by the specification of the syntactic feature *Adjectival*. The expressions *come* and *tall*, for instance, will receive the feature specifications [+Verb, –Adjectival], and [+Verb, +Adjectival] respectively, if we are to consider Lakoff's proposal. Gene Gragg (1968 : 91) in his discussion on the copula in Sumerian, maintains "that adjective in Sumerian is not an independent category, but a sub–class of the category verb...." A similar view is expressed in regard to Japanese adjective. Seiichi Makino (1968 : 13) asserts that "the Japanese adjective has a lot in common with the verb, which has led the transformationalists to treat the adjective as a kind of verb with the features of [+ Verb, + Adjective], in contrast to the verb which has the features of [+ Verb, –Adjective]".

2. The attempt to treat adjective on par with verb is however not a new one. John Lyons (1969 : 323) reports the prevalence of two diametrically opposite views in regard to the categorial status of adjective. the first one treating adjectives, 'as a sub–class of verbs' by Plato and Aristotle, and the second one treating them 'as a sub–class of nouns' by Alexandrians and their successors. In Greek and Latin adjectives and nouns are grouped together since "they are both inflected for number and case" (Lyons, 1969 : 323 & 324). Lyons does not approve of this. He argues that since number and case of the adjective "are derived by the transformational rules of concord from the noun which it modifies", it cannot be treated as a

sub-class of noun.[1] For Lyons, it seems then that adjective is not a functional category like subject, object and predicate, but a lexical category like noun and verb. He (1969 : 324) proceeds further: "Plato and Aristotle considered that the most typical function of both the adjective and the verb was that of predication, whereas the most characteristic function of the noun was that of naming the subject of the predication. It was for this reason that they grouped the adjective with the verb." It is thus clear that except 'Alexandrians and their successors', the Western scholarship has made it a point to confuse a functional category into a lexical one, that is treated as a sub-class of Verb. Even for Alexandrians and their successors, it seems that adjective is a class by itself within the lexical categories, even though they treat it as a sub-class of noun.

3. Quite interestingly, the traditional Tamil grammarians do not recognize *adjective* either as a distinct lexical category or as a sub-class of verb, although they talk about adjectival participles and non-temporal finite verbs, both of which are developed from non-verbal bases. Tolka:ppiyam (Col Ce:na:, 201), the earliest extant Tamil grammar written probably earlier than the beginning of Christian era, recognizes two types of verbals developed from verbal and non-verbal bases. Verbals originating from these bases are brought under *terinilai* and *kuṟippu* respectively. *Terinilai* verbals (shortly, T. Verbals) are marked for tense, and no such specification is available for *kuṟippu* verbals (shortly K. Verbals). Thus for traditional grammarians *cey-t-a:n* and *kariy-an* in (1) and (2) below are T and K. Verbals respectively.

(1) avan cey-t-a:n
he do-past-he 'He did'

(2) avan kariy-an
he black-he 'He is black'

[1]Derivation of number from noun through transformational mechanism is not a universal phenomenon. In early Tamil, there are innumberable instances where while the subject NP will be in singular, the predicate verbal, particularly K. Verbal, will be in plural Notice for instance,

vill-o:n ka:l-ana kaḻal (-e:) (Kuṟu 71.1)
bow-he leg-pl metallic knee ring (-∅)
'The metallic knee rings are in the legs of the person with bow'

where *kaḻal* is the subject NP in singular, and *ka:l-ana* is the predicate K. Verbal in plural. Lyons' contention, that number is derivable from noun through transformation is not sustainable as for Tamil is concerned.

Both T and K. Verbals are associated with agreement markers.[2] However K. Verbals, as already referred to are devoid of tense specification. Only the context will help to ascertain the tense of K. Verbals that function as predicate.

4. Like T. Verbal predicate, every K. Verbal predicate has got a corresponding K. Adjectival marked or unmarked by an adjectival suffix. Thus in the following examples, the adjectival suffix is marked in (3), and left unmarked in (4).

(3)	kariy–a	mukil	
	black–adj	cloud	'black cloud'
(4)	ka:r	mukil	
	black	cloud	'black cloud'

What are treated as adjectives in the West are discussed under K. Verbals by the traditional Tamil grammarians. For Lakoff and others 'black' in (2)–(4) is an adjective; but for Tamil scholarship it is something else. Tamil grammarians treat both K and T. Adjectivals as *peyar eccam* i.e., 'noun anticipator'. They have never confused *peyar eccam* with lexical category. They have clearly recognised that *peyar eccam* is a functional category, and not a lexical one. The base of *peyar eccam* may be either verbal or non-verbal. In (3) and (4), the base of *peyar eccam* is a non verbal one. Now the question is, to which lexical category the base alternants *kari–* and *ka : r* in (3) and (4) belong ?

5. Pavaṇanti (Su:trams 132, 135 & 136) a 13th century Tamil grammarian derives all the qualitative bases of K. Verbals

[2]There are K. Verbals in Tamil without agreement markers as evidenced below.

(a)	ra:man	*karuppu*	
	Raman	black	'Raman is black'
(b)	ma:tavi	*civappu*	
	Madhavi	red	'Madhavi is red'

These sentences are analogous to the following ones.

(c)	ra:man	*e:ḻai*	
	Raman	poor	'Raman is poor'
(d)	ma:tavi	*ko:ḻai*	
	Madhavi	coward	'Madhavi is coward'
(e)	avan	*cevi̯ṭu*	
	he	deaf	'He is deaf'

The constituents on the right side in (a)-(e) are impersonal ones. We will treat them as nouns, since they are capable of functioning as subject besides accepting case suffixes.

from quality nouns ending in *–mai* such as *veṇmai* 'whiteness.' *pacumai* 'greenness', *karumai* 'blackness' etc. Thus *kari–* of (2) and (3), and *ka:r* of (4) are derivable from the quality noun *karumai* 'blackness'. In other words, *kari–* and *ka:r* are complementary variants of *karumai* within the framework of Pavaṇanti's analysis. This analysis is quite revealing since the forms *kari–* and *ka:r* assume the status of noun by virtue of their being alternants with *karumai*. The conclusion that *kari–* and *ka:r* under reference are assignable the status of noun is an inevitable one if we additionally consider the interpretation of the NPs in (3) and (4). Both *kariy-a mukil* and *ka:r mukil* in (3) and (4) are interpretable in terms of *karumai a:kiya mukil* 'the cloud which is black' (Lit. the cloud is, having become black) incorporating the *Become* perfective adjectival *a:kiya*[3]. The interpreted version involves the quality noun *karumai a:kiya* has a formal reduction to *–a* in *kariy–a* without any semantic dislocation, and deleted after *ka:r*. *karumai* turns into *kari–* and *ka:r* before *–a*, and the head noun *mukil* respectively. This is a clear testimony that *kari–* and *ka:r* being the alternants of the quality noun are instances of nouns, and not adjectives. Lakoff would treat them as adjectives, and ultimately as a sub-class of the lexical category of verb. His treatment, however, does not work satisfactorily in Tamil.

6. What Lakoff attempts to establish as to belong to verb class in English turns out to belong to noun class in Tamil. Why this anomaly ? The anomalous situation is obviously due to the recognition of adjective as a lexical category, not in Tamil but elsewhere. Lyons has certainly not done justice to Greek and Latin situation where adjectives are grouped with nouns on the basis of inflectional similarity. He clouded the issue by observing that "the status of the adjective in Greek and Latin is not strikingly different from its status in English, where there is no concord between adjective and noun" (1969:324). This does not appear to be a valid argument, since the term adjective itself is wrongly applied to a class of expressions like *tall*, *black* etc., which function both as adjective and predicate in English. Instead of identifying the actual lexical category to which expressions such as *tall*, *black* etc , belong, Lyons and Lakoff recognize them as adjective, as if adjective is a lexical category, and then the latter

[3]The adjectival *a:kiya* being perfective in character is developed from the the *Become* verb *a:ku*. This verbal has no connection whatsoever with *Be* meaning.

proceeds to include *tall, black* etc., in the lexical category of verb on the basis of the evidence available from English. We are not concerned with the types of arguments which Lakoff presents in support of his thesis that *tall, black* etc., 'are members of a single lexical category' i.e., Verb. In early Tamil, even nouns could be converted into predicate verbals and adjectivals of *Kuṟippu* type by adding relevant suffixes as hypothetically exemplified below.

(5) ka:nam cunaiy–a
forest water pool-they
'The forests have water-pools'

(6) cunaiy–a ka:nam
water pool–adj forest
'The forests which have water pool(s)'

One cannot argue that the noun *cunai* in (5) and (6) is a sub–class of the lexical category verb, simply because it shares the verbal charactersistics of taking agreement and adjectival markers. If Lakoff, Lyons and others employ the term adjective to denote *tall, black* ete., for want of terminology, then they might not be wrong in their search to find a lexical category under which expressions of the type under reference might be treated. The evidence available from Tamil is not in support of treating what are considered to be adjectives in English as a sub–class of verb. K. Verbals in Tamil are inflected ones from non–verbal bases. *cunai* in (5) and (6) respresents one type of non-verbal base, and *kari–* in (2) and (3) represents another type of non–verbal base. Thus the non–verbal bases which form the K. Verbals are of several types of nouns including the qualitative, dimensional and colour bases.

7. Lakoff's finding that adjectives are a sub–class of the lexical category of verb, since moves in reverse direction in Tamil, we are emboldened to raise the question whether verbal bases too could be treated as a sub–class of noun. In other words, would it be possible to do away with verb as a lexical category and treat what are believed to be verbals as members of the lexical category of noun ? The speculation itself is not either totally new or ill-conceived. Subramaniya Dikshidar (Pirayo ka Vive:kam, Su:tram 35. Comm) a seventeenth century Tamil grammarian argues that verbal bases are to be treated as *mutalnilai–t–toḻir–peyar* i.e , root level verbal nouns. Lyons (1969:227) reports that in categorial grammars there are only two grammatical categories namely fundamental and derived. Fundamental grammatical categories are represented by *Sentence* and *Noun.* The derived grammatical categories include "All lexical items other than nouns." If we take

the categorial system of grammars into consideration, then verb will be a derived grammatical category. Lees (1972:67) in his discussion on Turkish copula observes that Turkish verbal sentences "are parallel to ordinary copula sentences of the form NP+NP+ Copula", since the Turkish verbal predicates are conceivable into iparticiples plus the copula. He reports that "some grammarians n the past have spokon of the nominal character of Turkish verb phrase" without presenting substantial evidence. An argument based on manner adverbs and their corresponding adjectives appears to confirm the fact that verbal bases are assignable the status of noun Lyons (1969:326) points out that manner adverbs "are transformationally related to the corresponding 'adjectives'." Quite interestingly, he argues that "since there would seem to be no possibility of paradigmatic opposition between the 'adverb of manner' and the 'adjective', they are to be regarded as contextually determined variants of the same 'part of speech' " (Ibid:327). A similar view is derivable from Lakoff (1970 : 157–159). Bowers (1975) independently observes that "Adjectives and Adverbs belong to the same syntactic category" i.e., Adjective.[4] The type of argument advanced by Lyons, Lakoff and Bowers will treat, for instance *vehemently* of *He opposed vehemently* and *vehement* of *His vehement opposition* as complementary variants. If we carefully examine the illustrations where *vehemently* and *vehement* occur, there are two other constructions namely *opposed* and *opposition* which too are in complementary distribution. If *vehemently* and *vehement* 'are to be regarded as contextually determined variants of the same part of speech', it shall then hold good for *opposed* and *opposition* too. The tense in

[4]Bowers (1975 : 547) argues that the phrase structure rules of English need not contain a special category "Adverb", "Since *-ly* Adverbs are identical in their internal structure to AP's (i.e., Adjectival phrases)..." the distribution of the suffix *-ly*", he says "is completely predictable on the basis of the syntactic position of AP in the deep structure..." (Ibid). As for the predictability of *-ly* Adverbs, Bowers (Ibid : 549) makes the following observation.

"If an AP is immediately dominated by either VP or AP, S, then the head Adjective is assigned the suffix *-ly*. Otherwise (i.e., when AP is immediately dominated by either NP or Pred), it remains in its simple form"

One of the arguments available to Bowers to treat the manner adverbs as alternants of adjectives is that "in many dialects of American English", as he himself refers to, "there is a strong tendency to omit the *-ly* from all manner adverbs : *he ran quick, he did terrible, he writes bad* and so on." "I take this", Bowers says, "as further evidence in favour of my claim that Adjectives and Adverbs belong to the same syntactic category" (1975 : 545. Foot Note.)

opposed is a transformationally derivable one. Since *opposition* is a noun, its complementary variant *oppose* too is entitled to be treated as a subclass of noun.

8. In early Tamil, negative verbals of *ceyy–a:m–ai* type are both nominals and adverbials. As nominal *ceyy–a:m–ai* receives the gloss 'not doing' and as adverbial, it is understood as 'without doing'. The grammatical functions of *ceyy–a:m–ai* verbals are explainable not in terms of morphological contrast but in tems of syntactic context. The grammatical functions of *ceyy–a:m–ai* verbals are predictable in syntactic level. Thus the question of nominalising a verbal does not arise. But now the question is, is it the syntactic context that is responsible for treating a particular verbal construction both as a verbal and nominal? It seems to be partially true in a synchronic spectrum. However it might also be argued that a particular verbal construction by virtue of its being a sub-class of noun, is basically nominal in character capable of functioning as an adverbial. Remember that adverb or adverbial is only a grammatical function and does not represent a lexical category. Notice that a time noun and a place noun are capable of functioning as time and place adverbs. Personal verbals in Tamil are capable of performing the predicate function. However predication is not the sole function of personal verbals. There are instances in early and middle Tamil where personal verbals assume other grammatical functions such as infinitive, adverbial, object etc. Notice the following examples.

(7) i:ṅku (–k) *ka:ṇ–ku* va–nt–anen ya:n (–e:) (Patiṟṟ 88.39)
here see–I come–past–I I (–Ø)
'I came here to see you'

ka:ṇ–ku that functions as infinitive in (7) is a first person singular non–past personal verbal capable of functioning as predicate elsewhere.

(8) *maṟa–nt*–anam tuṟa–nt–**a** ka:l (Naṟṟ 172.2)
forget–past–we leave–past–adj seed
'The seed which (we) left forgetting'

maṟa–nt–anam in (8) functioning as an adverbial is a personal verbal capable of functioning as predicate elsewhere.

(9) ni: *piḻai–tt–a:y* po:l nani na:ṇ–in–aiy(–e:) (Puṟam 43.17)
you err–past–you (sg) as if very shy–past–you (sg) (–Ø)
'You felt very shy as if you erred'

(10) ma: va:y(-p) *piḻa-nt-a:n+ai* ... na:m ce:vitt-a:l
(Tirupp. 8. 6&7)
horse mouth split-past-he+obj we worship-if
'If we worship him who split the mouth of (the demon in the guise of) the horse.'

(11) atiyama:n ... paricil *ni:ṭṭi-tt-a:n+ai*
A gift delay-past-he+obj
avvaiya:r pa:ṭ-iyatu[5] (Puṟam 206 Int. Note)
A sing-past
'Avvaiyar sang on Adiyaman who delayed the gifts'

piḻai-tt-a:y, *piḻa-nt-a:n* and *ni:ṭṭi-tt-a:n* in (9) – (11) functioning as object are capable of functioning as predicate elsewhere. There is no morphological evidence converting the personal verbals under reference in (9)–(11) into nominal ones.

9. Although Lyons depends on Plato and Aristotle for their view that "the most typical function of both adjective and the verb" is that of predication, examples in (7) – (11) from early Tamil explicate that what are considered to be verbals are capable of performing non-predicative grammatical functions too. The very fact that the personal verbals in (9) - (11) function as object with nominal status testifies that verb need not be a lexical category. The revision of categorial status from verb to noun pertaining to personal verbals might be unhesitatingly extended to other areas too where they function as infinitive, adverbial, predicate etc.

10. We have suggested above the possibility of treating verbals as to belong to the noun category following the assignment of nominal status to what are generally but erroneously believed to be adjectives. We shall now consider certain serious arguments

[5]Puṟana:nu:ṟu (shortly, *Puṟam*) is an anthology of 400 poems composed by various poets Being one of the Sangam texts, Puṟam belong to early Christian era. Right below each poem of Puṟam an introductory note is given. There are about 30 introductory notes in Puṟam with predicate verbals of personal type marked for their casal function. The sequence *NP+X+Personal Verbal+Case* as evidenced in *atiyama:n ..paricil ni:ṭṭi-tt-a:n+ai* is actually a noun phrase rephrasable into *paricil ni ṭṭi-tt a atiyama n+ai* 'Adiyaman who delayed the gifts'. NPs such as *atiyama:n ..paricil ni:ṭṭi-tt a:n+ai* are quite unusual in Tamil since the head noun *atiyama:n* shall be on the right side and the modifier on the left. The modifier on the left shall be an impersonal adjectival participle. However since in the example under reference the modifier and modified are in the reverse position, the modified i.e., *ni:ṭṭi-tt-a:n* is not only personal in character but also accepts the case marker.

pushing the verbal bases under the lexical category noun. There are five types of arguments in this regard, of which four are developed from the material available from Tamil, and one from the Welsh language. For the sake of reference, we might refer to these arguments as *Complement Argument*, *Infinitive Argument*, *Comparative Argument*, *Become Argument* and *Welsh Argument*.

11. Let us first consider the Complement Argument with reference to the following examples involving sentence complements.

12. (a) murukan varu–v–a:n en̲ra ceyti
M come–fut–he compl news
'The news that Murukan will come'

(b) murukan var–um ceyti

(c) murukan { varutal / varuvat– } a:kiya ceyti

The NPs in (12) are semantically identical. In (1), *varu–v–a:n* 'will come–he' is a fully inflected personal verbal functioning as predicate. *en̲ra* occurring after *varu–v–a:n* is a *Become* adjectival functioning as complementizer[6]. This complementizer has the complementary variants *–um* and *a:kiya* in (b) and (c) versions in (12). Likewise, *varu–v–a:n* has the complementary variants *var–* (an alternant of *va* :) and *varutal/varuvatu* 'coming' in (b) and (c) versions. The forms *varutal* and *varuvatu* are non–past verbal nouns. Since *varu–v–a:n* and *var–* in (a) and (b) are complementary variants of the verbal nouns *varutal* and *varuvatu* in (c), we are obliged to treat the (a) and (b) forms as instances of verbal nouns. The predicate in the complement clause in (b) is a base verb without any inflectional material. Since any base verb is capable of occupying the place of *var* in constructions of the type marked in (b), verbal bases are entitled to be treated as verbal nouns. Since verbal base is the nucleus part in any verbal construction and the same is poised to be treated as verbal noun, verbal constructions of any type are automatically assignable the nominal status.

12. The Infinitive Argument has to do with infinitives and their variants. Infinitives of *cey–a* type in Tamil are in free variation

[6]The *Become* adjectival *en̲ra* is developed from the base *en*. The *en̲ra* adjectival is expandable into *en̲-u‖a irukki(n)̲ra*. Since this exapansion involves *Be* verb i. e , *u‖- ‖iru-*, the structure *en̲ra* has to be treated as perfective adjectival of *Become* verb.

with the dative verbal nouns of *ceyvataṟ-ku* type.[7] *ceyvataṟ-ku* 'for doing' is analysable into *ceyvat-an+kku*, where *-an* is semantically empty, and *-kku* is dative marker. The forms *cey-* of *cey-a*, and *ceyvat (u)* of *ceyvat-aṟ+ku* are instances of complementary variants occurring before *-a* and *-kku* respectively. Since *ceyvat(u)* of *ceyvat-aṟ+ku* is an instance of verbal noun, the verbal noun status is assignable to the verbal base *cey-* of *cey-a* by virtue of its being an alternant of the former i.e., *ceyvat(u)*. It is thus clear that verbal bases in Tamil are not verbs but a subclass of noun, and any construction developed from such bases are entitled to be treated as nominal ones.

13. The third argument has to do with the verbals occurring before the comparative adjectival *anna* in early Tamil. There are two types namely *cey-t-(u)* and *cey-p(u)* types of verbals noticed to occur before *anna*. The *-p(u)* of *cey-p(u)* verbals is a cover symbol for *-pp(u)*, *-p(u)* and *-v(u)*. The *cey-t(u)* and cey-p(u) verbals are past and non-past respectively. The past and non-past notions are taken care of by *-t(u)* of *cey-t(u)*, and *-p(u)* of *cey-p(u)* respectively. The *-u* of *-t(u)* and *-p(u)* is deletable before vowels. Now, consider the following examples.

(13) irumpu tiri-tt+anna..... maruppu (Akam 4.3)
iron twist-past+comp-adj tusk
'The tusk which is similar to the twisted iron'

(14) va:n to:y-v+anna puricai (Puṟam 21.3)
sky touch-non-p+comp- adj fortress
'The fortress which looks like touching the sky'

As a rule any constituent that occurs before the comparative verbal shall be a nominal one. *tiri-tt(u)* and *to:y-v(u)* in (13) and (14) are not an exception to this rule. This is very much in evidence in the following examples which are semantically identical with (13) and (14) respectively.

[7]Infinitives have a tendency of behaving as verbal nouns without any nominalization process. In Tamil, Pavaṇanti (Nnn. Su:tram 343) refers to a class of infinitives which might be treated as infinitives of *ceypa kku* type. *ceypa : kku* is yet another variant of *cey-a* infinitives What is significant is that *ceypa : kku* verbals are noticed to function as verbal nouns in early Tamil. The two forms *karappa : kku* (1127) 'hiding' and *ve : pa : kku* (1128) 'roasting' occurring in Tirukkuṟaḷ are clear cases of verbal nouns. They derive the nominal status not from any suffix material, but from the verbal base. This is quite inevitable since infinitives are verbal nouns by virtue of the verbal bases being verbal nouns.

(15) irumpu tiri–ttatu po:nṟa maruppu

(16) va:n to:y–vatu po:nṟa puricai

tiri–tt+anna and *to:y–v+anna* in (13) and (14) are enlarged into *tiri-ttatu po:nṟa* and *te:y–vatu po:nṟa* in (15) and (16). *po:nṟa* in the latter set is an alternant of *anna* in (13) and (14). Likewise, *tiri-ttatu* and *to:y–vatu* in (15) and (16) are alternants of *tiri–tt* and *to:y–v* in (13) and (14). The *tiri–* and *to:y–* based v rbals in (15) and (16) are instances of past and non-past verbal nouns respectively. This raises automatically *tiri–tt* and *to:y–v* in (13) and (14) to the nominal status, although they function as adverbial elsewhere in the system. What is interesting in this analysis is that in the nominals of *cey–t(u)* and *cey–p(u)* types there is nothing whatsoever that enables them to assume the nominal status. The second segment therein specifies tense. The first segment is just the verbal base. What then makes them to be treated as nominals? There is nothing exc pt the verbal base. If the verbal base does not have the nominal character, then there is no possibility of treating the verbals of the type under reference as nominals. This is supported by the complement and infinitive arguments already referred to.

14. The *Become* argument being the fourth one involves the occurrence of *Become* verbal after personal verbals. *Become* verbal means the verbal developed from the *Become* verb *a:ku*. In early Tamil, and also in the language of commentators of middle Tamil period, we come across complex verbal constructions composed of Personal Verbal + *Become* infinitive/adverbial/conditional/adjectival. *Become* infinitive and adverbial are *a:ka* and *a : ki/a : y* respectively, and *a : yin* and *a : kiya* represent *Become* conditional and adjectival respectively. Notice the following examples, the complex verbals of which are marked with the corresponding simple ones right below the gloss.[8]

Infinitive

(17) entai va–ntu *urai–tt–anan+a : ka* (Naṟṟ (206.6)
my father com–adv tell–past–he+become–int
'As my father, having come, told'
urai–tt–anan+a : ka = urai–kka 'as he told'

The complex infinitive *urai–tt–anan+a : k–a* in (17) functions as causal verb.

[8]The simple versions have no immediate relevance to the present study. However, since they correspond to the complex verbal constructions associated with *Become* verbal, they will be treated to include the *Become* meaning in their semantic structure. As a result the simple versions obey the conclusions available to the complex verbals.

Adverbial (Affirmative)

(18) kollan(–um) ko:valan *tann–ai–k*
smith K obj
kuṟuk–:n–an + a:k–i (Cilampu 16.154 & 157)
approach–past–he + become–adv
'The smith having approached Kovalan'
kuṟuk–in–an + a : k–i = kuṟuk–i '(he) having approached'

Adverbial (Negative)

(19) em–manai va:r–a:y + a:k–i (Akam 346 16)
our–house come–you (sg) + become–adv
'(you) without coming to our home'
va:r–a:y a:k–i = *var–a:m–al* '(you) without coming'
come–neg–adv

Conditional

(20) ka:nam, iṟa–ppa *eṇṇu–t–ir + a:y–in* (Akam 5.15&16)
forest past–inf think–non–p–you (hon) + become–cond
'If (you) think to pass through the forest'
eṇṇu–t–ir + a:y–in = eṇṇ–in/eṇṇin–a:l 'if (you) think'

Adjectival

(21) *varu–v–ai + a:k–iya* cin–na:ḷ (Naṟṟ 19.8)
come–fut–you (sg) + become–adj few–days
'The few days of your coming'
varu–v–ai + a:kiya = var–um / varu–kinṟ–a 'of (your) coming'

(22) ivv–iṭatt––e : varu–v–a : ḷ + a : k–iya ivaḷ (Kali 56 Nacc. Comm)
this place (–to) come–non–p–she + become–adj this she
'This she who comes to this place'
varu–va:ḷ + a:k–iya = var–um = varu–kinṟ–a 'of coming'

15. The foregoing examples involve only such of those complex verbal constructions which are non–finite in character. There are instances in Tamil where complex verbal constructions with finite *Become* verbals functioning as predicate.

(23) avan...nalatt–ai–c *citai–tt–a:n + a:y–in–a:n* (Kali 142. Nacc. Comm.)
he health–obj spoil–past–he + become–past–he
'He spoiled the health'
citai–tt–a:n + a:y–in–a:n = citai–tt–a:n 'spoiled–he'

(24) avan–aiy (–e :) ...ninai–ntu *varuntu–v+a:ḷ+a:y–in–a:ḷ*
(Akam 22. Int. Note)
he–obj think–adv worrying+she + become–past-she
'She worried thinking of him'
varuntu–v–a:ḷ+a:y–in–a:ḷ = varunt–in–a:ḷ 'worried–she'

(25) ni: karut–a:y + a:y–in–a:y (Kali. 2 Nacc. Comm)
you consider–you+become–past–you (sg)
(sg)
'You did not consider'
karut–a:y+a:y–in–a:y = karuta–v–illai 'did not consider–you'
'You did not consider'

16. We shall now consider the implication of *Become* verbals in the complex verbal constructions in (17)–(25). *Become* verbal specifies the change of state of the subject NP. Changes are of two types as schematically represented below.

(26) $X \longrightarrow Y$

(27) $X_p \longrightarrow X_q$

In (26), the change of X into Y involves identity crisis. That is, X loses its identity in the output assuming the form Y. Examples of the following type will be taken care of by (26).

(28) veṉṉai ney a:y–i̲r–u̲ru
butter ghee become–past–it
'Butter became ghee'

The subject NP in (26) has lost its identity in the process of change. This is not the case in (27), where the identity of X is retained in the output. However, the X of input is not the X of output in terms of property. The representation of (27) will be interpreted into X associated with the property *p* turns into X associated with the property *q*. Sentences of the following type will be governed by (27).

(29) ma:tavi naṭikai a:–n–a:ḷ
M actress become–past–she
'Madhavi became actress'

(30) ma:tavi pa:ṭ–in–a:ḷ
M sing–past–she
'Madhavi sang'

In both (29) and (30), the identity of the subject NP is kept intact in the output i.e., the predicate system in (29) will be interpreted

into that a Madhavi associated with an unspecified property turns into a Madhavi associated with the property of *actress*. Similarly, n (30), Madhavi will be construed to be in association with an unspecified property before acquiring the property of *singing*. This is what the examples in (17)–(25) emphasize. The fact that *Become* verbals are in association with personal verbals in the complex verbals reported in (17)–(25) testifies that the personal verbal in such complex constructions is what is specified by X_0 in (27). In modern Tamil, the complex verbal constructions involving *Become* verbals are not used. However, in the light of the examples in (17)–(25), we cannot overlook the fact that the predicate verbals in Tamil represent the change of state of the subject NP.

The involvement of *Become* verb in complex verbal constructions is a case in point. Any constituent including the verbal one that is in association with *Become* verb is the second version of the subject NP. The second version, as such, is entitled to be treated as a nominal construction. It follows then that the complex predicate verbals *varuntuva:ḷ a:yina:ḷ* and *karuta:y a:yina:y* in (24) and (25), for example, will be interpreted into '(she) became worrying' and '(you) became not considering'. Since the one which is the output of *Become* verb shall be a noun/nominal, *varuntuva:ḷ* and *karuta:y* in the interpreted versions are entitled to be treated as nominal constructions. In the final analysis the predicate verbals associating with *Become* meaning represent a sub-class of the lexical category that is Noun. Now the question is, how is it that the verbal constructions, particularly the personal verbals figuring in complex verbal constructions in (17)–(25) acquire the nominal character. The inflectional markers therein perform their own function. As such they have nothing to do with the nominal character of the verbals under reference. As already pointed out, the nominal property will have to be associated with the verbal base. Because the verbal base has the nominal character, the entire construction developed from it assumes the nominal status.

17. The last argument supporting the assignment of nominal status to verbal bases comes from the linguistic system obtained in Welsh with VSO word order. The Welsh examples figuring in our discussion are from G. M. Awbery (1976).

18. In Welsh, the progressive and perfective systems allow the principal verb to be uninflected. It is given the gerundial gloss. While progressive and perfective notions are specified by the forms *yn* 'in' and *wedi* 'after' respectively, the *Be* verb *bod* is exploited

to specify the tense. The only inflected verb is then the *Be* verb in progressive and perfective constructions. Consider the following examples. (Awbery 1976 : 13)

(31) Mae'r dyn yn gweld y ci
Is man in seeing the dog
'The man sees the dog'

(32) Mae'r dyn wedi gweld y ci
'Is man after seeing the dog
'The man has seen the dog'

In the above examples *gweld* is an uninflected verb. Awbery (1976, 13) treats sentences of the type marked in (31) and (32) as periphrastic in character. In periphrastic sentences usually the object follows the uninflected verb. However, if the object is a pronoun it has two possibilities. "It may either precede the uninflected verb, or both precede and follow it" (Ibid : 15) as noticed below.

(33) Mae'r dyn wedi ei weld
Is man after his seeing
'The man has seen him'

(34) Mae'r dyn wedi ei weld ef
Is man after his seeing him
'The man has seen him'

The NP sequences *ei weld* and *ei weld ef* noticed in (33) and (34) respectively are comparable to the following possessive NPs.

(35) ei gi
his dog

(36) ei gi ef
his dog him 'his dog'

Taking the parallelism between the NP sequences under reference in (33) and (34), and the possessive NPs in (35) and (36) into account, Awbery (Ibid : 16) rules that the uninflected verb *weld* 'seeing' in (33) and (34) is a head noun being modified by the object pronoun. What is applicable to the uninflected verb in (33) and (34) is applicable to the uniflected verb in (31) and (32), although no modifier figures in the latter. The implication of this analysis is that in Welsh there are contexts where the verbal bases function with nominal character. This is again confirmed by the presence of the uninflected verb in Welsh passive constructions.

19. The transitive verb in active sentence is fully inflected. However, when the active sentence is converted into a passive one, the inflectional properties of the transitive verb are taken over by

the *Get* verb *cael*. Not only the transitive verb in the passive construction is left uninflected, but also it is modified by the possessive pronoun of the passive subject NP. Awbery (Ibid:48) gives the following schematic representation of active being converted into passive.

(37) Active : V_1 NP_2 NP_3

Inflected

Passive : cael NP_2 $Pron_3$ V_1 gan NP_2

Inflected uninflected

$Pron_3$ in the above representation is the possessive pronoun of NP_3. *gan* corresponds to *by* in English. Now consider the following examples.

(38) Rhybuddiodd y dyn y bachgen (Active)
warned the man the boy
'The man warned the boy'

(39) cafodd y bachgen ei rybuddio gen y dyn (Passive)
got the boy his warning by the man
'The boy was warned by the man'

Notice the sequence *ei rybuddio* 'his warning' in (39), where *rybuddio* is an uninflected verb. This verb is an inflected one in (38). Quite surprisingly, the uninflected transitive verb in (39) being modified by the possessive pronoun of passive subject, functions as object of the *Get* verb. Awbery (Ibid:49) pleasingly observes that the possessive pronoun plus the uninflected verb sequence noticed in passive sentences shall be treated as a noun phrase. The uninflected transitive verb is thus elevated to the status of noun in Welsh passive constructions. The fact that the uninflected verbs in Welsh assume the nominal status in certain contexts strengthens the validity of our hypothesis that verbal bases are a sub-class of noun.

20. An immediate consequence of treating verbal bases as sub-class of noun is that verb will not be considered to represent a lexical category. This does not mean that the term verb will be totally neglected from the analysis of linguistic system(s). We will consider *verb* to be a classificatory feature similar to *Proper, Common, Abstract, Count* etc. Thus, for instance, *na:ɪu* 'country'

and *naṭu* 'to plant' will be assigned the features [+Noun, – Verbal,...] and [+Noun, + Verbal....] respectively. The advantage of treating verbs as nouns is that we can convincingly explain that, for instance, *naṭippu* 'action' is a noun not because it is a nominalised version of *naṭi* 'to act', but because it stems from the latter which is basically a noun marked with the feature [+Verbal]. The implication of this observation is that *naṭi* and *naṭippu* will be treated as alternants occurring in predictable environments.

21. If we maintain the Noun-Verb distinction it would be very difficult to transformationally relate the following sentences.

40 (a) na:n avaḷ–ai *nampu*–ki(n)r̲–e:n
I she–obj believe–present–I
'I believe her'

(b) ena–kku avaḷ–iṭam nampikkai iru–kki(n)r̲–atu
I -dat she–loc confidence be–present–it
'I have confidence in her (Lit. To me, confidence is in her)

41 (a) su:riyan inr̲u a:r̲u *maṇi-kku* uti–tt–atu
sun to-day six O'clock rise–past–it
'The sun rose at six O'clock to-day'

(b) su:riyan inr̲u a:r̲u *maṇi-kku* utayam a:k·iy–atu
sun to–day six O'clock rising become–past–it
'The sun rose at six O'clock to–day' (Lit. The sun became rising at six O'clock to-day)

The (a) and (b) versions in (40) and (41) are semantically identical. The verbs *nampu* and *uti* in (a) versions, are matched by the nouns *nampikkai* and *utayam* in (b) versions. If the Noun-Verb distinction is insisted, we shall then resort to a mechaniam that converts the verbs into nouns to relate the sentences in (40) and (41). Since the occurrence of *nampu* and *nampikkai* in (40), and *uti* and *utayam* in (41) is quite predictable, they are entitled to be treated as complementary variants. Complementary variants as a rule, shall belong to identical class/category. If Noun-Verb distinction is maintained then the items under reference cannot be treated as complementary variants. If we take into account the arguments presented in support of treating the verbal bases as a sub-class of noun, we could then treat the items *nampu & nampikkai* in (40), and *uti & utayam* in (41) as to belong to an identical lexical category i.e., Noun.

22. Nominals originating from Verbs are of two types namely, gerundiv nominals and derived nominals. (Chomsky 1976). Notice the following examples.

42 (a) murukan nanṟa:ka *naṭi*–tt–a:n
M well act–past–he
'Murugan acted well'

(b) murukan *naṭi–tt–atu* naṉra:ka iru–nt–atu
M act–past well be–past–it
'Murugan's acting (past) was good'

(c) murukan–uṭaiya naṭippu naṉṟa:ka iruntatu
M poss–adj action well was
'Murugan's action was good'

Sentences in (42), particularly those in (b) and (c) are semantically dentical. *naṭittatu* and *naṭippu* in (b) and (c) in (42) are gerundive and derived nominals respectively within the framework of Chomsky's analysis. However, if we carefully examine the sentences in (42) the forms *naṭi*, *naṭi–ttatu* and *naṭippu* in (a), (b) and (c) are noted to be contextually determinable variants. Although *naṭi–ttatu* is a transformationally derivable one, the transformation contributes nothing to its nominal character. Transformation in this case is confined to the incorporation of tense. Once *naṭi–tt* is formed, *–atu* of *naṭi–tt–atu* is a predictable one. As such, transformation has nothing to do with the emergence of *atu*. As for *naṭippu*, which Chomsky treats as a derived nominal, it might be treated as an alternant of *naṭi* that occurs in 42 (a). A simple rule of the following type will take care of the emergence of derived nominals like *naṭippu* 'action'.

(43) naṭi > naṭippu / NP + poss. adj-

If verbal bases are not treated as a sub-class of noun, rules of the type specified in (43) are not possible. The various arguments coming in support of assigning nominal status to verbal bases justify the existence of rules of the type marked in (43).

23. The nominal status assigned to the verbal bases greatly relieves us from formulating category conversion rules. Since the verbal base itself is a noun, any construction developed from it, as already pointed out, will naturally be an instance of nominal one. Nominal constructions associated with [+ Verbal] feature are either personal or impersonal in character. Personal ones are those which are associated with personal markers, and the impersonal ones are devoid of any such markers. Gerundive nominals, various types of non-finite verbals and modals will be treated as impersonal nominal constructions. Chomsky's derived nominals, although impersonal in character, will be considered as alternants of verbal bases.

ABBREVIATIONS

adj	=	adjectival	Int	=	Introductory
adv	=	adverb	Kali	=	Kalittokai
Akam	=	Akana:nu:ṟu	Kuṟu	=	Kuṟuntokai
Ce:na:	=	Ce:na:varaiyam	loc	=	locative
Cilampu	=	Cilappatika:-ram	Nacc	=	Naccina:rkki-niyar
Col	=	Collatika:ram	non-p	=	non-past
comm	=	commentary	neg	=	negative
comp	=	comparative	obj	=	objective
Compl	=	Complement	Patiṟṟ	=	Patiṟṟuppattu
dat	=	dative	pl	=	plural
fut	=	future	poss	=	possessive
hon	=	honorofic	Puṟam	=	Puṟana:nu.ṟu
Inf	=	Infinitive	Tirupp	=	Tiruppa:vai

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FLIRTING AS AN ASYMMETRIC SPEECH ACT IN BENGALI

Udaya Narayana Singh
South Gujarat University

The purpose of this paper is to show that a term "Asymmetric Speech Act" is needed to name those speech events which involve two (or more) speakers with different "purposes" or "directions". In such speech acts, it is quite often the case that the initiator has a definite purpose and the addressee is merely a respondent. I shall argue that these speech acts do not follow the maxims and sub–maxims[1] of the Gricean principle and hence they deserve special attention.

H. P. Grice's (1975) approach to "Conversational Implicature" is based on the assumption that the communicative effort of the persons involved in a speech act is symmetrical, i.e. the basis of our talk–exchange is

> (I) "characteristically, to some degree at least, co-operative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or a set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction" (Grice 1975 : 45).

[1]Grice's (1975:45-47) Co-operative Principle involves four categories – Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner, under which fall more specific maxims and sub-maxims which are as follows : (A) Quantity : (i) Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange ; (ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required; (B) Quality : Try to make your contribution one that is true, i.e. do not say what you believe to be false, and do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence; (C) Relation : Be relevant; (D) Manner : (i) Avoid obscurity of expression; (ii) Avoid ambiguity; (iii) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity); (iv) Be orderly.

Grice does not seem to realize that such a common purpose or direction may not be fixed in advance but that they may evolve the talk-exchange[2]. Notice that if the initiator selects speech-strategies in such a way that he is successful in converting the passive non-chalant attitude of the interlocutor into a positive purpose, similar to one that he has, the asymmetric speech act would result into a symmetric talk-exchange. But quite often such a conversion does not take place, and as a result, the communication breaks down, or the discourse results into a conflict. The examples of potential asymmetric speech act would include lying,[3] begging, asking for political support, defending a thesis, giving a news conference, etc. I shall look into one of the commonest types of asymmetric speech act, namely, flirting, in the following paragraphs. All examples are taken from Bengali plays, short stories and novels written in between 1855 and 1972. However, one could very well see that the speech strategies in the act of flirting attested in the Bengali discourse have parallels in other cultures too.

In talking about flirting, I do not assume that traces of Co-operative Principle cannot be found in the conventional moves of the participants in a discourse. It is surely possible to find them in case the addressee has a similar purpose as that of the initiator, i.e. to flirt with each other. However, in case of asymmetric flirting too, the initiator adopts certain "Regulative" strategies[4] (Searle 1969 : 33) depending on a number of factors. The factors, I guess, would include the following :

(2) i. Whether the initiator knows the addressee, or whether they know each other, and how well do they know each other,

ii. Whether they share the same cultural norm, and if they do not, whether the initiator is aware of the conventions that are current in addressee's culture,

iii. The physical setting of the act,

[2]For a different approach to this notion, see Gordon and Lakoff (1971), and the subsequent criticism of this paper by Jerrold L. Morgan (1977).

[3]See Stephen Levinson (1978) for such an account.

[4]Searle (1969:33) makes a distinction between "Regulative" and "Constitutive" rules of behaviour. In his own words, "regulative rules regulate antecedently or independently existing forms of behaviour; for example, many rules of etiquette regulate inter-personal relationships which exist independently of the rules" (Searle 1969:33).

iv. Whether the initiator and the addressee are alone. and if they are not, what is the relative social distance between the other person(s) and the interlocutors; and also, what is the (social) distance between the initiator and the addressee,

v. The medium and the mode of communication (i.e' face to face oral communication, talk over telephone, through letters, as well as gestural and other non-verbal medium),

vi. The brevity to violate the conventional regulative strategies based on i through v.

I may mention here that the initiator has also a set of "Constitutive" strategies[5] (Searle1969:33) which depend mostly on the response of the addressee, and on a sudden change in iii and iv above.

I shall now demonstrate with examples as to how these factors force the initiator in adopting a particular strategy, and how such strategies violate the maxims of Grice (1975). If the interlocutors are known to each other, then it is quite common that some irrelevant information would creep in. The following discourse is an example of violation of the maxim BE RELEVANT (under the category 'Relation'):

(3) Setting: Bedroom; I(nitiator) is the husband of A(ddressee), the unwilling wife; married for a long time; alone, at night:

a. I: e khaaTuni kOtodin nebe Sorir ?
this labour how-long take-fut body
"How long will your body survive with such a workload ?"

b. A: nicche to. oTaa baaro Taakaa cuattor pOeSaa,
take–pres Part that twelve Rupees seventyfour Paise
aaTaattor nOe.
seventyeight neg

"(Why,) it's doing (fine). That's Rs. 12.74 (,and) not 78".

[5]"...Constitutive rules do not merely regulate, they create or define new forms of behaviour...Constitutive rules constitute (and also regulate) an activity the existence of which is logically dependent on the rules." (Searle 1969:33-4).

c. I : nijer dike taakiye dEkho kOkhono ?
self–poss to look–ptcpl see–pres ever
"Do you ever look at yourself ?"
(Chanakya Sen 1972:14)

When the initiator knows that the reaction of the addressee would not be that of intolerance, the former may open the conversation violating the category of "Manner" by purposely not avoiding ambiguity, and thereby obscuring the expression. The discourse here apparently contains irrelevant matters, but it is not comparable to (3) where the talk of calculation was a calculated manner of avoiding husband's advances. This is because, in this case, seemingly irrelevant things actually carry "relevant" exchanges of information. Consider the following discourse :

(4) Setting : A village road; I is a constable, and A an attractive low–class woman; they know each other for quite some time; alone, in day time.

a. I : pOddomukhi, miSi maaggi kore tulle je.
Padda/Lotus-faced, tobacco rare do-ptcpl lift–pres Emph
"O Padda (/Lotus–faced), you've made tobacco a rare thing, indeed".

b. A : tor cOndrohaarer je baahaar bhaari
you-poss uniform-poss Emph show heavy
"(How is that) your dress is so dazzling today ?"

c. I : jaano naa praan, pEedaar poSaak aar noTir beS.
know-pres neg life, police dress and dancer's costume
"Don't you know love that police's uniform and dancer's dress (should be dazzling) ?"
(Dinabandhu Mitra 1855:16)

The indirectness in word coinage done by the playwright for these two characters as far back as in 1855 is (ambiguous but) justifiable even in present–day situation. Notice that although the name of the addressee is *Podi*, the initiator selects a comparable name from the Archaic variety of Bengali (known as *Saadhu*, as against the *colit* in which the dialogue has been written). This name, *Poddomukhi* would also be a praise for this woman, because it means "lotus-faced". The initiator talks about the less availability of *mis* when he implies that *Podi* is rarely seen now–a–days. Similarly, the response of the addressee implies a question such as follows : How is it that you are in such a jubilant mood today ?

She knows about his mood from the indirectness in the flirting-strategy that he applies here.

The category of "Relation" seems to be violated more in situations where the participants may have come to know each other only a few moments ago. The initiator would, in this case, desperately look for a topic to start the conversation and keep it going–a topic that may be of interest to the addressee. Let us take a look at the following discourse from a recent novel :[6]

(5) Setting: Drawing room of a third person ; I is a brilliant researcher in Physical Sciences and A is a college-student ; they met a few moments ago; they were introduced by a common friend ; the common friend is not present at that point of time.

a. I: aapnaader kOlejer profesaar rOmeS cETaarji
you(Hon)–poss college–poss Professor
aamaar maaSTaar mOSaai
I-poss teacher Sir
"Ramesh Chatterji, who is a professor in your college has been my teacher (, too)."

b. A: tini aamaadero pORaan
he(Hon) we–obj teach–pres
"He teaches us, too".

(Then, I tries to raise a few more topics, and in each case, A's reaction is very restrained.)

c. I : ôr stri paagol.
he(Hon)–poss wife mad
"His wife is mad".

(A laughs her head off because of the topics that I has been raising)

(Chanakya Sen 1962:224)

The "Degree of Irrelevance" increases when the initiator knows the addressee, and wants to have an affair with the latter,

[6]This is taken from a novel. The discourses in (5) and (7) originate from a novel and a story, respectively. In all these cases, the sentences that have been quoted appeared in the main text interspersed by one or two narrative sentences which I have omitted to make the discourse look more like a conversation. (4) and 6) have been taken from plays, and they have not been changed.

while the addressee does not know the former. An extreme example is quoted here from a play which was written about eighty years ago. Consider the following situation:

(6) Setting: A pond near a village road which is a place where passers-by rest; people walking by the nearby road; I knows A, while A does not know I; I is a servant, and A a maid; there is no one else around; day-time in summer; the place is the native village of A.

a. I: hĒ gaa, tomaader e-SOhore goru aache ?
Voc (Polite) you(pl)-poss det-town cow be-pres
"O (Lady), do you have cows in this town ?"

b. A: hãã aache. kEno ?
yes be-pres why
"Yes, we have. Why ?"

c. I: Ē .. Ē.... taader kOɾaa kore SiN ?
err err they-pass how many each horns
"Err... I mean ... how many horns does each one of them have ?"

(D. L. Roy 1897:421)

In flirting, the maxims under the category of "Quantity" are seldom observed. For instance, one often says things that one believes to be false (and, one knows that the other party knows that one knows it to be false), or for which one lacks adequate evidence. In the discourse that follows, a young lady attempts to flirt with a rich businessman who is willing to let her do what she wants to, but conscious of the fact that he is old and hence is sexually unattractive. The change of strategy on the part of the initiator after the initial response of the addressee is worth-noticing here. The tailoring shop that has been referred to in this discourse is a prestige symbol for the upper class of the society which both the persons belong to. The discourse is as follows :

(7) Setting: A formal party; I is a society lady- a rich who wants to become richer, and hence wants to trap more and more rich people; A is an aged business magnet; I and A know each other, but not too well; the time is evening, there are other people around, but none too near them.

a. I : misTaar bhaanDaari, aapnaake aaj bhaari
Mr. Bhandari you (Hon) –obj today very
yaaNg dEkhaacche.
young look–pres
"Mr. Bhandari, You are looking very young today".

b. A : e aapnaar cokher gune, mises nondi.
this you (Hon)–poss eye–poss quality–by Mrs. Nandy
"That's because you see me young, Mrs. Nandy".

c. I : naa naa, niScoy saadek aali aapnaar suT
no no surely Sadek Ali you(Hon)–poss suit
toiri koreche
ready do–pres pft
"No, no. I'm sure, Sadek Ali has tailored your suit".
(Bimal Mitra 1967:43[9])

The examples in the preceding paragraphs show clearly that Gricean principles are violated. In this connection, I may mention another piece of research in the field of potentially "Unco-operative" speech act which begins with a note that says

(8) "Grice's maxims of quality, quantity, relevance and manner are supposed to outline preconditions for the rational co-operative exchange of talk. But one thing we can observe is that not all activity types are deeply co-operative" (Stephen Levinson 1978).

Levinson (1978) shows how in a discourse such as "testimony before the Senate Committee conducting the Watergate hearings", the respondent in one instance chose to be unco-operative by making his answers indirect and implicational, while the interrogator refused to understand what the former said, and hence demanded clear and straightforward answers. That the maxims of co-operative principle would not work in all situations was hinted at by Grice himself when he admitted it in the following words :

(9) "I have stated my maxims as if this purpose were a maximally effective exchange of information: this specification is, of course, too narrow, and the scheme needs to be generalized to allow for such general purposes as INFLUENCING or DIRECTING THE ACTION OF OTHERS" (Grice 1975:47; emphasis : UNS).

Notice that any generalized scheme has to take care of the fact that co-operation of the addressee can not only be positive and negative, but it can also be neutral Similarly, the addressor and

the addressee may have similar or different purposes, and it may also be the case that the latter is neutral in respect of "purpose", at least when the former initiates a conversation. However, in that case the addressee has to make up his or her mind very soon which may give rise to a similar or different purpose. I believe one has to think in terms of a typology of speech acts in respect of "purpose" and "co-operation" on the part of addressee before one constructs a "generalized" scheme to describe speech acts as desired by Grice. This typology would look like the following:[7]

(10)

	INITIATOR		ADDRESSEE	
	Purpose	*Co-operation*	*Purpose*	*Co-operation*
I.	a	+	a	+
II.	a	+	a	O
III.	a	+	-a	O
IV	a	+	-a	—
V.	a	+	O	+
VI.	a	+	O	O
VII	a	+	O	—

The co-operative principle and its maxims can explain the conversational implicature of the expressions of the type I of (10). The speech events described in Levinson (1978) fall under the type III, because the addressee does not have the same purpose as that of the initiator, but he still chooses to be neutral by neither refusing to replying directly in unambiguous words. The discourse in (7) shows that both the parties have more or less the same purpose or direction, and yet the addressee chooses to be not very co-operative, because he is too seasoned to know that "latent" purpose of the initiator, i.e. to climb up higher in the social hierarchy. That is why we would put (7) in the type II. In the discourse (3), the addressee is neutral as regards purpose because she being the wife of the initiator cannot show that she

[7]The symbol *a* in (10 stands for a variable, and *O* symbolizes the neutrality. Notice that (10) could have included two more columns, where under the categories of ' Purpose'' and "Co-operation" of the addressee, one could include once *a* and -, and in another, *-a* and +, respectively. But these have not been included because of their logical contradictions. The Symbols aa i, u, e, E, o, O, T, Th, D, Dh, R, and N in the transcribed texts stand for ā, i, u, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṛ, and ŋ, respectively.

does not have the same purpose, but at the same time, she wants to discourage her husband. I would therefore place it under type VII in (10). While (4) is an example of type V, where the addressee has to (unwillingly) co-operate wi h the initiator because of the social position occupied by the latter, (6) is clearly an example of the most asymmetric speech act as described under IV. (5) is an instance of the type VI, because the addressee here keeps her options open by remaining neutral in respect of co-operation, and she has not yet made up her mind as to whether she should have the same purpose. However, she definitely seems to enjoy the way initiator attempts to flirt and fails in the process. Now, all other things being equal, it seems to me that the most difficult situation for the initiator would be IV, while it would be relatively easier for him or her to be in V, VI, VII and III in that order to be able to influence or direct the action of the addressee. I and II are more or less symmetric speech acts, and the initiator should have no problem as such if he or she is in one of these two situations listed in (10).

In conclusion, I may summarize what I have attempted to show in the preceding paragraphs. I have shown that Grice's (1975) approach to conversational implicature is somewhat simplistic if both symmetric and asymmetric speech acts are to be described by a set of principles. I have presented discourse evidences from Bengali plays, stories and novels written between 1855 and 1972 in support of my claim that Grice's Co operative Principle does not work in the case of asymmetric speech acts such as flirting. I have also argued that a general scheme of study of conversational implicature has to take into account a typology of speech acts which makes a classification of speech events in a scale of symmetry as in (10). This, I hope, would be able to unfold the mysteries associated with the study of "Speech Act" to a great extent.

COLOPHON

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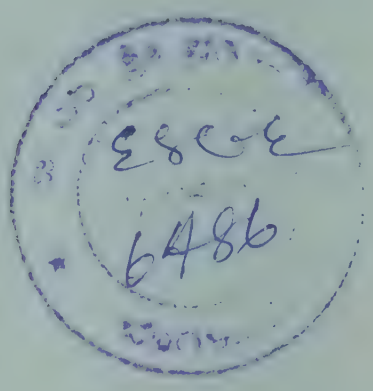
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SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND TULU DIALECT SURVEY

D. N. S. Bhat
ISDL, Trivandrum

Introduction

The area in which Tulu is spoken, namely Tuḷunāḍu 'The Tulu country' is a compact one from geographical as well as sociolinguistic (and cultural) points of view. It used to be a compact area from an administrative point of view as well, but as a result of the reorganization of states carried out during the years 1956-57 a south-western part of it, namely the Kasargod Taluk, was separated from the main area and was attached to a neighbouring administrative area (the Cannanore district), and hence the compactness was lost. The change in the administrative compactness has probably, by this time, affected the sociolinguistic compactness of the area as well.

Geographically, the compactness is derived from the fact that the area has natural boundaries on all its four sides: the rivers Suvarna and Chandragiri form its northern and southern boundaries respectively, whereas the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea form its eastern and western boundaries respectively. The whole area is situated on the coastal belt of the present Karnataka and Kerala states.

Sociolinguistically, the compactness derives from the fact that throughout this area there is a uniform two-layered system of communication made up of two distinct common languages, namely Tulu and Kannada. People belonging to different language communities and speaking distinct languages and dialects such as Tulu, Kannada, Konkani, Marathi, Malayalam, Urdu, Koraga, etc., as their mother tongue use a general variety of Tulu as their common medium of communication when they come into contact with one another

informally, as for example, for business transactions or during other day-to-day activities, whereas they use, instead, a standard variety of Kannada for the same purpose when they come into contact with one another *formally*, as for example, in schools and colleges, and other formal occasions.

This geographical and sociolinguistic compactness makes this area an ideal one for conducting various types of sociolinguistic surveys. There are apparently two distinct varieties of aims that a research scholar can have while conducting such a survey. Firstly, he might use the survey for testing one or the other of the various hypotheses regarding dialect variation and dialect change that have been postulated by various scholars, such as that of Berntstein regarding the occurrence of restricted and elaborated codes in low- and middle-class communities respectively, or of Ferguson regarding the development of speech situations leading to diaglossia, or of Wang regarding the "Spread" of sound changes, and similar other generalizations and hypotheses concerning multilingual communities.

Secondly, a research scholar might use the sociolinguistic survey for obtaining reliable information concerning the use of various languages and dialects in the area concerned and also for finding out the attitude of the various communities towards them, so that the various language-oriented plans of the government or of the community as such, such as that of education, adult literacy, etc., can be executed in a more successful manner. One can also plan sociolinguistic surveys that have aims of both these types.

A survey of Tulu dialects, if carried out only from the point of view of the dialect variations shown by that language, would not be very illuminating because, the area as a whole is a multilingual one and the various languages spoken here complement one another in forming a complex network of communicative functions. Hence what one needs is a sociolinguistic survey to start with – a survey that would help us to understand the exact nature of this complex network –which could then be followed by a more detailed linguistic study of selected languages and dialects.

2. A Survey of the Mother Tongues

In order to plan a sociolinguistic survey of an area, it would of course be useful if we have a rough idea of the kind of linguistic situation that exists in that area. As I have pointed out above, there are a number of distinct speech communities having distinct languages and dialects as their mother tongue that co-exist in the

Tulu language area. Tulu is decidedly the most prominent language among them, as it is acquired by more than half the population of this area as the mother tongue. I had conducted a preliminary survey of this language about fifteen years ago, the results of which were published in two different papers (Bhat 1965, 1970). The studies, however, were only sketchy, and the results obtained were only tentative.

The major dialect division in Tulu is mainly caste-oriented, i.e. the one occurring between the speech of the Brahmins and that of others (See Bhat 1965 for the linguistic basis of this distinction). The Brahmin dialect does not appear to show any major geographical distinctions (except probably a slight distinction between east and west). The reason for this absence of any geographical distinctions in the Brahmin dialect of Tulu is probably the fact that the members of this community reside mostly in the northern part of the area, and the few who live in other areas are constantly in contact with the former.

The dialectal division of the speech of the remaining native Tulu speakers, however, is most prominently geographical. I have suggested elsewhere the possibility of making, for this purpose, a four-fold division of the area, namely the north-west, north-east, south-east, depending upon the realization of certain word-initial consonants: For example, the consonants *s* and *t* of the Brahmin dialect merge into *t*, *h*, *s* and zero respectively in these four dialects.

In addition to this four-fold geographical distinction, this second variety of mother tongue Tulu also shows dialectal distinctions in a given geographical area; these distinctions are mainly correlatible with the distinctions of caste. In the north-western area, for example, one can find basically a three-fold dialect distinction the speech of stone-cutters, drummers, and the others. Only a detailed study of the speech of the various caste-groups prevalent in different geographical locations of this area can allow us to state the exact nature of these dialect distinctions.

Kannada is also the mother tongue of a considerable number of persons in this area. There are a number of sub-dialects, such as the Havyakas, Kōṭa, Gauḍa, etc., prevalent in this area. These and other native Kannada dialects of the coastal area of Karnataka form a distinct branch of the Kannada language, and as I have pointed out elsewhere (Bhat 1969), the major dialect division of Kannada is not into its northern and southern dialects as proposed by a number of Kannada scholars, but into its coastal and

non-coastal varieties. A detailed study of the dialectal variations of coastal Kannada is yet to be undertaken.

The native speakers of Konkani and Marathi also form an important part of the population of this area. Both these languages show a number of sub-varieties which are partly geographical and partly social (i e. based on caste). A survey of these dialects also is yet to be undertaken.

Communities having Malayalam as their mother tongue are mainly found in the south-western part of this area. These are the Mappilas (mainly merchants), artisans (carpenters, blacksmiths, stone cutters, etc.) and fish rmen. There are interesting dialectal differences among these native speakers of Malayalam. In addition to this, there are a number of comparatively smaller communities having Urdu, Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Arabic, Gujerati, etc., as their mother tongue in this area. Whether the speech of these communities form distinct dialects as compared to the speech of corresponding communities elsewhere (in U. P, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, etc.) is yet to be investigated.

There are also a few tribal languages prevalent in this area, of which some belong to the border area (the Western Ghats) and hence do not directly come into the sociolinguistic picture of this area, whereas others like that of the Koragas do form part of the picture. These also need to be examined carefully through a detailed language survey of this area.

One of the most useful results of a detailed dialect study of the area, I believe, could be the formulation of a dialect dictionary. Since the area is multilingual, and the various professions such as fishing, stone-cutting, basket making, toddy-drawing, pottery, black-smithy, carpentry, etc., are caste-based, the specialized vocabularies connected with those various professions are restricted to individual languages and dialects. Hence such specialised vocabularies can be gathered together only through a detailed dialect study of this area I am sure that if necessary care is taken in planning this study, the dialect dictionary resulting from it could be very interesting indeed.

3. A Survey of the Link Languages

As I have pointed out above, the members of a given language community in this area use their mother tongue only for communicating among themselves. For communicating with the members of other language communities, they use one of the two link languages that are available for them, namely a general variety of Tulu

(for informal purposes), and a general (or standard) variety of Kannada (for formal purposes). It is possible to claim, I believe, that almost all the permanent residents of this area have a practical knowledge of both these languages.

A survey of the relative functions of these two link languages and the attitudes of the various communities towards them in this area would be quite interesting. Since Tulu is generally used as a link language in "formal" situations, the communities have developed a kind of taboo towards its use in formal situations such as that of the school. This is also true of other mother tongues like Havyaka, Marathi, etc. For example, a Marathi boy, once he has reached the school compound, would stop speaking even with his own brother in his mother tongue, namely Marathi, and would switch over to standard Kannada.

In the southern part of this area, however, the position of Tulu as a link language is further restricted in that it is not used by the members of the upper class (of different language communities) for communicating among themselves even in informal situations. Instead, they use the standard Kannada for such purposes. Thus, a member of the Havyaka community would use standard Kannada rather than Tulu while conversing with a wealthy Mapila shopkeeper, or a member of the Bunt or Shivalli community. Using Kannada rather than Tulu in such informal situations is considered, especially by some of the educated members of the lower classes, to enhance an individual's status in the society.

As against this trend in the south, there is a movement in the northern part of this area to enhance the position of Tulu itself as a link language by publishing books and newspapers in it, by producing dramas and movies in it, by having public lectures in it, and so on. Thus, some of the traditional functions of Kannada are being taken over by Tulu in the northern part of this area. A sociolinguistic study can bring out clearly the effects of these attitude changes of the relative functions of these link languages.

Standard Kannada, as a link language, faces a different kind of challenge in the south-western part of this area, i.e. in the part that has been separated from the main Tulu area and was attached to the neighbouring area (Cannanore district) of the Kerala State about 22 years ago. Since Malayalam is the language of the majority and of the administration and education in this new area, some of the prestigeous functions of Kannada are being shifted to that

language. It would be interesting to examine the sociolinguistic effects of this conflict as well, which has developed in this south-western part of Tulu area only during the last two decades.

It must be pointed out here that in addition to Tulu and Kannada, the area under study also has English as the medium of higher studies and also of communication on topics connected with such specialised subjects. For a limited number of individuals, English also functions as the link language for communicating with persons who do not know either Tulu or Kannada. Some of these individuals also show control over bazar Hindi which serves as a link language in certain informal situations.

Side by side with these inquiries regarding the use of different link languages in fulfilling different functions, and also regarding the attitudes of different individuals and communities towards them, it would be interesting and helpful to inquire into the social and geographical variations that are shown by these link languages. For example, the general variety of Tulu used by various communities in the north-western part of the area would not be the same as the one used in other geographical sub-divisions such as the south-east or the south-west. There would at least be four different regional varieties of general Tulu. There would also be difference between the various social groups in a given location regarding this general Tulu. What is interesting here is to know whether such a social differentiation in general Tulu is correlatable with the distinctions in the mother tongue of these speakers, or with certain other criteria such as their social status, education, profession, etc. One can make a similar study of variations existing in other link languages as well.

4. Advantages of the Study

A sociolinguistic survey of the Tulu area would be advantageous from two different points of view, as shown by the possibility of having two different aims for such a study. Firstly, it can help to resolve some of the puzzling aspects of sociolinguistic theory, and secondly, the information obtained from it can be utilized in the successful execution of different language-oriented projects connected with the development of this area.

Regarding the first type of advantage, for example, it has been generally claimed that the knowledge of more than one language enhances the tolerance of a speaker or of a community to other languages. I think the Tulu area can provide an interesting test

case for this generalization or hypothesis. It is an entirely multilingual community, and hence a study of the reactions of its population to the introduction of new languages such as that of Hindi or Malayalam (in Kasargod Taluk) as compared to the reactions of monolingual communities to similar introductions of languages would be interesting.

One can think of a number of advantages of the second type, i.e. the practical advantage, that can result from a sociolinguistic survey of Tulu area. Firstly the results of such a survey can be used in solving some of the puzzling problems of education, especially those connected with the teaching of language. For example, it has been found that a student, by the time he joins the schools, would have a good mastery over his first language (except for the acquisition of certain specialized vocabularies and certain complex sentence structures) and the colloquial dialect that he has so acquired is in no way "defective" or deficient as compared to the standard variety that he is to acquire in the school. Hence the emphasis in the school must be on helping the student to shift between different language varieties in different speech situations. That is, the student must be allowed to develop a sense of identity and pride towards his mother tongue as well, that he does not view the acquisition of standard Kannada as conflicting with his use of mother tongue or of general Tulu in other speech contexts.

It has been suggested that one of the ways in which a student can be provided with such a sense of identity and pride towards his mother tongue is through the inclusion of that language among the subjects to be taught in the school, as for example, by making it part of the "know your district" course.

Secondly, a sociolinguistic survey of the Tulu area can help us to identify the social group that initiates, sustains, and perpetuates the various kinds of changes in that area. This knowledge would be helpful in successfully carrying out the various developmental projects of the area, and also planning and executing various language-oriented policies without inviting any social upheavels.

It is true that the language policies of a government are not arrived at purely on linguistic factors; one will have to take into account several other factors such as the political, historical, cultural, administrative, financial, etc However, the knowledge of the actual linguistic situation that is prevalent in the area (who speaks what language with whom, when and where, what the attitudes of the speakers towards these languages are, etc.) would

definitely be useful in arriving at a correct policy, and also in properly implementing it.

How the implementation of the same language policy in two sociolinguistically distinct areas can produce markedly different results can, I believe, be seen clearly, if one compares the effects of the 1956–57 state reorganization on Kasargod and Belgaum respectively. The former is a multilingual community in which the effect of the reorganization was only a conflict between one of its link languages (Kannada) on the one hand, and a newly introduced standard language (Malayalam) on the other. Whereas in the latter case, the conflict was between the mother tongues of two distinct language communities (namely Kannada and Marathi). Hence the reactions were apparently more violent in the latter case than in the former one. A better apprehension of the sociolinguistic situation would have helped the administrator to avoid conflicts in either of these cases. This, I think, is true of other language–oriented disturbances, such as the ones emenating from the implementation of three-language formula as well.

A sociolinguistic survey can also have the effect of focusing the attention of the various communities of the surveyed area on their native languages, and of making them aware of their importance. It would also be helpful in establishing a band of trained observers in the community who could report to the government regarding the success or failure of the implementation of its language policies in that language area.

5. Summary

I have pointed out in this paper the relevance of conducting a sociolinguistic survey of the Tulu language area prior to a more detailed survey of one of its languages like Tulu. I have given a tentative sketch of the language situation of this area on the basis of which a sociolinguistic survey can be planned. I have also pointed out the advantages of such a survey both for the sociolinguistic theorist and for the administrator who wishes to properly and successfully implement his language-oriented policies.

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INTER-RELATION OF TULU WITH OTHER DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

B. Ramachandra Rao
Osmania University, Hyderabad

Since Caldwell (1856), it has been established beyond doubt that Tulu is one of the most highly developed and independent member of Dravidian family of languages. The suppositions that Tulu was a dialect of Malayalam or Kannada were discarded long back. Now the problems connected with the historical interest centre round the nature of inter-relationship of Tulu with neighbouring sister languages and its affinities with South Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian subgroups.

With the help of the material available Dravidian scholars have already put forth their views regarding the affinity of Tulu with other Dravidian subgroups: Bh. Krishnamurthy (1961 : 272) recognising the independent nature of Tulu inclines to consider it as an off-shoot of Proto-Central Dravidian. M. B. Emeneau (1967 : 365) accepts this view to the extent that Tulu is not a South Dravidian language. P. S. Subramanyam (1968 : 26,27) concludes that Tulu is basically a member of the South Dravidian subgroup and it first deviated as a separate language from Proto-South Dravidian, whereas the rest of the languages remained together for some more period.

Vocabulary

The close resemblance of some Tulu vocabulary items with Telugu and Central Dravidian languages attracts the attention of a language scholar and sets him thinking of the relationship of Tulu with Central Dravidian languages which are not geographically contiguous with Tulu.

Eg. Tu. illi 'house'; Te. illu 'house'; Kol. ella 'house'; NK. ellu 'house'; Pa. ilpodi 'roof'; Go. il 'house'; Koṇḍa 'llu (pl. ilku) 'house'; Kuvi illu (Pl. ilka) 'house' Tu. aṅgāvuni 'to open mouth wide'; Pa. analp id; Tu. iyaḍi, iyyodu, 'this year'; Pa. iyad id., Tu. tupani, sūpaṇu, hūpuṇa 'to see'; Pa. cūṛ; 'to see';, Ollari sūḍ id.; Te. cūḍu id.

Tu. parndi 'ripe fruit'; Te. pandu id.; Pa. paṇḍ- 'to ripe'. Tu. ēpu 'to catch'; Pa. ēp- 'to catch. Tu. pani 'to say, tell, inform, narrate, teach'; Te. palukᵤ 'speaking, word, sound, say', Br. pāning 'to say, speak, tell, speak of, call a thing something, say to onself' Kui. p'āpa 'say, remark'.

Some place names of Tulu: nūji bali, cf. guvetta paḍpu, guṇḍibaili guvvali 'a well', guṇḍi 'pit, pond', Telugu nuyi, nuyyi, nūyi 'a well'; Kol. nuvvi id.; NK. nuvvi id.; Kuvi nūji (j = y) id.

rāyi 'a place name in Tulu'; cf. Te. raḷḷa palli 'a place name in Telugu', rayi 'stone', raḷḷu 'stones'

mañci, mancakallu 'place names in Tulu'; cf. mancalakaṭṭa, mañcalā, 'place names in Telugu'.

Now we shall examine some of the important phonological and morphological changes which Tulu has undergone in order to understand the nature of relationship Tulu has with sister languages and subgroups of Dravidian.

Phonological Features

1. Original ā changes to ē in Tulu
 Eg: pāl 'milk' Tu. pēri 'milk'

Change of original a and ā to e and ē respectively is a regular feature in Parji language (Krishnamurthi 1976: 1.3.1)

Eg:		*Tulu*	*Ra.*
pal	'tooth'	paru	pel
kal	'stone'	kalli	kel
kāl	'leg'	kāri	kēl
pāl	'milk'	pēri	pēl

This relic feature in Tulu serves as an evidence to show the relationship of Tulu with Parji thousands of years ago.

2. Change of original intervocalic -c- to -d- is observed in some Central Dravidian languages and Tulu.

Eg: Tu. pudari 'name'; Pa. pidir 'name'; Ollari pidir id.; Go. pediri id.; Kuvi dōrū id.; Kod. peda id.;
Ta. Ma. peyar, piyar id.; Ka. pesar; Malt pinje 'to name' Br. pin 'name'

3. Original alveolars change to palatals in Tulu as well as in Central Dravidian languages when the following vowel is a front vowel.

Eg: Ta. panri 'pig'; Tu. pāñji id.; Pengo, Manda panji id.; Kui. paji id.; Kuvi pajji id.;

4. Original ḷ and ṉ are deretroflexed in Telugu as well as in many North and Central Dravidian languages. The tendency to retroflex ḷ and ṉ appears prevalent in Common Tulu.

Eg: Ta. vilaṅku 'to shine'; Ka. beḷagu id.; Te. velugu 'to shine' Kuvi vella id.; Tu. holpu 'light'
Ta. kaṉ 'the eye'; Ka. kan, Kaṇṇu 'id.; Te. Kannu id.; Tu. kanni id.
Ka. aṇṇa 'elder brother'; Te. anna id.
Tu. kēṇi/kēni 'to hear'; koṇa kana 'to bring' kaḷi kali 'toddy'; bāleḷu bēllu 'children'; aḷE alE 'buttermilk', etc.

5. Splitting of P. Dr. u into u and i (unrounded u) occurs in Tulu. Unrounded u(i) attained phonemic status in Tulu. This phenomenon is also observed in Kodagu, Tamil and Malayalam (allophonically) among South Dravidian languages, but not in Kannada. This phenomenon is to be considered as an areal feature with Tulu peculiarly, rather than one corresponding to a genetic subgrouping (Emeneau 1970: 153).

Eg: tinu 'it will eat'; tini 'you eat' (2nd person sg. imp)

6. Tulu exhibits commonness in changing the original v- to b- with its neighbouring languages Kannada and Kodagu. This rule of initial v- > b- started operating in Kannada between 7th and 8th centuries. Intervocalic -v- in Kannada remains unchanged.

Eg: Tu. bayili 'open field'; Ka. bayal id.; Kod. beli 'paddy field'; Ta., Ma. vayl id.;
Tu. bulE 'crop'; Ka. bele id.; Kod. bo'e id: Ta. vilai, Ma. vila id.; Tu. beri, Ka. ben, Kod. benni, Ta. verin, veṉ 'back'

7. Tulu changes P. Dr. intervocalic -v- to -b- independently. No other sister languages show this change. This may be

viewed as an extension of the rule of v- > b- to intervocalic position in Tulu.

Eg:	*Tu.*	*Ka.*	*Ta.*
	kabi 'to cover'	kavi id.	kavi 'to overspread'
	kebi 'the ear'	kivi	cevi
	abe 'to pound rice'		avai
	ubari 'brackishness'		
	sabi 'taste'	savi	
	kabari 'fork'	kaval	kavar

8. P. Dr. l changes to r in Tulu in a number of words. This is not found to occur in any other languages. This is an independent innovation in Tulu.

Eg:	*Tu.*	*Ka.*	*Ta.*
	tarE 'the head'	tale	talai
	pēri 'milk'	pāl	pāl
	biru 'bow'	billu	vil
	paru 'tooth'	pal	pal
	kāri 'the leg'	kāl	kāl

9. Tulu does not agree with any of the South Dravidian languages in the matter of i/e and u/o alternation in the root syllable before a derivative suffix beginning with a- (Shankara Bhat 1966: 18–20). This aspect is yet to be investigated in detail taking into consideration dialectal data of Tulu.

Eg:	*Tu.*	*Ka.*	*Te.*	*Ta.*
'match'	inE	eṇe	enayu	iṇai
'leaf'	irE	ele		ilai
'opposite'	eduru	idir	eduru	etir
'name'	pudari	pesar	peru	peyar/piyar
'smoke'	pugu	poge	poga	pukai
'white'	hoḷdu	beḷ	veluka	veḷ
'to praise'	pogali/pugari	pogaḷ	pogadu	pukaḷ

10. P. Dr. i and e change to u and o in Tulu respectively when preceded by a labial consonant and followed by a retroflex consonant. This change is found in Kodagu also.

Eg:	*Ka.*	*Tu.*	
	peṇ	poṇṇu	'girl' Kod, poṇṇi id.
	beḷ	boḷ	'white'; Kod. boḷipi id.
	peṇa	puṇa	'corpse'
	biḷ	būḷu/būru	'to fall'
	bēṇṭe	boṇṭE, kod. bōte, Ta. vēṭṭai	'hunting'

11. An original m in the word final position is lost exclusively in Tulu and Kannada.

Eg:	*Ta. Ma.*	*Tu. Ka.*
	maram 'tree'	mara id.
	paḷḷam 'ditch'	paḷḷa id.

Morphological Features

12. Non-human plural has two allomorphs -kuḷu(-guḷu) and -ḷu (-lu). In this respect Tulu resembles Kolami -Parji group of C. Dr. languages.

Eg: telkul 'heads', merkul 'trees', kanul 'eyes', pēni 'louse', pēnul 'lice', evl 'leaves', etc.

13. Oblique suffix -t-/-d- of Gondi, the t of Parji and -t-/-d- of Tulu genitive suffix -ta/-da occur in a large number of noun classes while in South Dravidian it is restricted only to nouns ending in m.

14. Personal pronouns: Original *ya of 1st person singular develop to e- in SDr. and NDr. languages. In the Central Dravidian group of languages *ya-changes to a-. In this respect Tulu is closer to South and North Dravidian. Initial n of 2nd personal pronoun is dropped in Central Dravidian languages. The loss of initial n is also observed in Tulu.

Eg: Parji, Ollari, Gadaba īn (Pl. īm) 'you'
Tu. ī 'you' inkuḷu/niṅkuḷu/nikulu (Pl.) 'you'
īrī (Pl.) 'you'

15. Tulu differs from the rest of the S. Dr. languages in lacking the derivative suffix t(u) in the numerals aini 'five', eṇma 'eight' and ormba 'nine'. This is an independent development in Tulu.

16. A class of verb roots (Ramachandra Rao 1968: 3.2) terminating in -p(u) alternating with -t in the past is observed in Tulu as well as in Parji, Kolami and Ollari.

Eg: Parji analp-/analt 'to open mouth wide';
ayp-/ayt- 'to sweep' ēp-/ēt 'to get, to catch'
kāp-/kāt 'to wait'; mi 'to bathe (onself)'
mip-/mit- 'to bathe another (causative)'
payp-/payt- 'to divide'

Kol. kāp- 'to boil';

Ollari kāyp-/kāyt- 'to boil water'; kāp-/kāt- 'to watch'

17. Formation of causative transitive verbs in Tulu is different from all other South Dravidian languages (Ramachandra Rao 1966 : 4.8).

Causative–Transitive markers : Tu. –po/–pa; –o/–a
Ka. –cu, –su, –isu.

Eg : būḷu 'to fall' būḷpō/burpā 'to cause to fall'
kalpu 'to learn' kalpō/kalpā 'to cause to learn'
kaṭṭi 'to build' kaṭṭō/kaṭṭā 'to cause to build'

18. Overt negative marker (–ā–) before all personal suffixes is retained in Tulu whereas it is dropped in the rest of the S. Dr. languages before the personal suffix beginning with a vowel. In this respect Tulu resembles C. Dr. and Brahui rather than S. Dr. languages. S. Dr. languages innovated by dropping the overt negative marker –ē– before personal suffix beginning with a vowel.

Eg : kal–p–ay–E 'I won't study', kor–ay–e 'he won't give'
pan–ay–ali 'she won't tell', tinay–eri 'they won't eat'.

19. Imperative verbs :

Eg : kal–pu 'you learn', kalpu–la id., kalp–i 'you (pl.) learn' kalpu–le id.; pari 'you drink', par–la id.; par–i 'you (pl.) drink' par–le id.

20. Prohibitive verbs :

Eg : kalp–aḍa 'you don't learn', kalp–aḍe 'You (pl.) don't learn' kor–aḍa 'you don't give', kor–aḍe 'you (pl.) don't give', etc.

21. Obligative verbs :

Eg : kalp–oḍu 'one should learn'; pov-oḍu 'one should go', etc.

22. Optative verbs :

Eg : kalp–aḍi 'let he, she, it learn'; bar–aḍi 'let he, she, it come'

23. Hortative verbs :

Eg : kalpu–ga 'let us learn'; korka 'let us give', etc.

24. Prospective verbs :

Eg : kalp–oḷi 'can learn', kal–ti–doḷi 'could have learnt' kor–oḷi 'can give', kor–t–oli 'could have given', etc.

25. Past adverbial participles.

Eg : kal–ti, kal–ti–di 'having learnt'; kor–di 'having given' pāḍi–di 'having put', etc. The past *–i allomorph found in

other South Dravidian languages is replaced by the dental allomorph in Tulu.

26. Negative adverbial participles :

Eg: kalp-ande 'having not learnt'; kor-ande 'having not given', etc. In Proto-Dravidian this participle was having only the negative suffix -ā as in old Tamil but later on in the S. Dr the past suffix (-nt- in Tulu but -t- in others) has been added to it since it usually means negative in the past. Tulu shares this innovation with other S. Dr. languages.

27. Continuous participle :

kalt-ondu 'learning'; kor-ondu 'giving'; pēḍ-ondu 'putting' paṇḍ-ondu 'telling', etc.

28. Verbal adjectives :

Eg: kalti; kal-ti-d-i; kal-p-i/kal-pu-b-i; kal-and-i, etc.

Here adjectives marker is -i in Tulu while it is -a in other S. Dr. languages. In this respect Tulu agrees with Telugu, Konda, Kui and Kuvi.

Eg: Te. cēyani 'that do(es)/will not do'
Kui ti-s-i 'that ate', ti-n-i 'that will eat'.
tin-a-n-i 'that will not eat'
tin-a-t-i 'that did not eat'.

29. Instantial participle :

Eg: kalpu-naga 'while learning'; par-naga 'while drinking'; pāḍ-naga 'while putting'

30. Subsequential participle :

Eg: kalp-uṇṇe 'after learning'; parp-uṇṇe 'after drinking' pād-uṇṇe 'after putting'.

31. Conditional participles are formed by adding the suffix -da to the finite verbs of the structure Root + Tense + Person.

Eg: kaltEḍa 'if I learnt'; kalpuveḍa 'if he learns';, pariyaḷḍa 'if she drinks'; tinderda 'if they eat'; tindiṇḍa 'if it eats'.

I have just listed the various verb forms with one or two examples to give a picture of variety of verb forms to be studied. Detailed study of these verb forms from comparative point of view is yet to be done.

An intensive comparative study of the phonological and morphological features of Tulu with new dialectal data will give us a picture of the evolution of the present day Tulu and the nature of its relation with sister languages. Lexicostatistic studies (Andronov 1970 : 24) reveal that Tulu must have been separated from Proto-Dravidian at about 6th century B. C. P. S. Subramanyam (1968 : 63–65) has pointed out many developments, and features of Tulu as parallel developments, shared innovations with S. Dr. languages, area convergence and retentions of Proto-Dravidian qualities. These developments are quite natural in the course of 2500 years of separation from the main Dravidian stock and its geographical position. But some relic features like –s– (*–c–) > -d–, *ā > ē, *nr > ñj and morphological feature like the existence of a class of verb roots terminating in the suffix –p(u) alternating with the suffix –t in the past, transitive–causative suffixes, verbal adjective marker –i indicate the retentions of 2500 years of old genetic relationship of Tulu with CDr. subgroup* of languages. Hence we may conclude that a group of Proto–C. Dr. speakers might have migrated to the South in the 6th century B. C. and settled on the West coast and their language developed as present day Tulu. The relic features which connect Tulu and C. Dr may be regarded as pre-migration developments retained in Tulu.

*Recent subgrouping of the Dravidian languages : (1) Southern : Tamil, Malayalam, Irula, Kodagu, Toda, Kota, Kannada, Tulu : (2) South Central: Telugu. Gondi, Konda (Kūbi), Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda; (3) Central : Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Ollari, Gadaba; and (4) Northern : Kurux, Malto, Brahui (Krishnamurti 1978 : 2)

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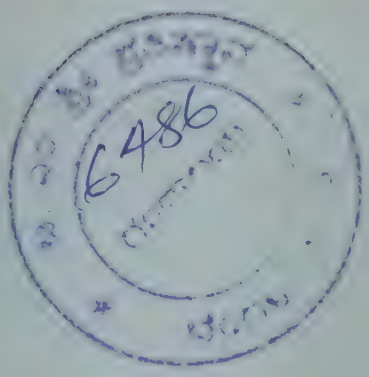
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FOLK CULTURE REFLECTED IN TUḶU PLACE NAMES : AN INTRODUCTION

Kemturu Raghupati
Manipal Junior College, Karnataka

It has been rightly said that history is concerned with what man does on the earth and geography is concerned with what he is and how he came to be where we find him (Collins 1968:29). History is, to a large extent, governed and shaped by the geographical conditions prevailing in a region. The very geographical peculiarities of Tuḷunāḍu have enabled the people here to preserve their characteristics of antiquities especially in language and culture. This is best manifest in the place names of the region.

Place-names are the fossilized agents of antiquity disclosing the cultural tendencies of a people and simultaneously the cultural stage of them in the different strata in the history of social evolution. Since the place-names have emerged as identificatory labels, they tend to function as such even after getting meaningless with the passage of time (cf. Wainwright 1962, Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 16.). This distinct nature of place-name has attracted the modern scholars, who have realised its practical importance as it supplements the archaeological information to a considerable extent.

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the nature of and reasons for folk etymologies in place-names on the one hand, and, on the other, to discuss a few important and interesting place-names which carry the frozen history of the region – its natural wealth including flora and fauna, and culture consisting of traditions, a craftsmanship, religious faith, hobbies, games and the like.

Let us first take 'folk-etymologies'[1] in Tulu place-names. What is a 'folk-etymology'?

[1]The term 'folk etymology', was first coined by E. M. Forstemann, which was later popularised by A. S. Palmer. (cf. Reddy 1976. footnote, p. 124).

"In its simplest operation, folk-etymology merely associates together words which resemble each other in sound and show a real or fancied similarity in meaning but which are not at all related in their origin".[2]

In practice, it may be a creation of the learned scholars or common folk. However, in both the situations an attempt is made to etymologise a place-name-form so that it is rendered more 'cultural' or rather 'Sanskritized', more familiar or popular, and seemingly more meaningful and relevant at a given time in view. Etymologising would, thus, have two significant repurcussions: (i) morphological and (ii) semantic. More often the prevailing form of a place-name, having lost its meaning and relevance, would be used for giving a different and fancied meaning with a least change in morphology. On the other hand, in most of the cases, the prevailing form would be either Sanskritized or substituted by a familiar word which has a sophistic taste and wider currency. In both the contexts, we are at a loss because there has been a deliberate attempt to change the place-name-form, which has come down to us from ages, the meaning of which could have been 'reconstructed' or 'edited' through some or other approach, had we retained the form as such. (Bhatt – in print).

According to these conventional etymologies, it is the gods or divinities whose names were given to the places through one or other unique event. In most of these cases, the local scholars associated with the temples must have played a dominant role in interpreting placenames from the mythological perspective which, subsequently, was copied by the laymen in their daily life. (ibid) For example, they argue that the name 'Maṅgaḷūru' has derived from Mangaladevi, 'Uḍupi' from 'Uḍupa' i.e. the moon-God, and 'Kukke' from 'Kukka' i.e. 'Kumāra' or Subrahmanya.

The legends or staḷapurāṇas, which essentially constitute a part of our folk culture,[3] mention the names of the aboriginals

[2]For a detailed treatment of the subject see Reddy 1976 : 124-128.

[3]In a scientific investigation of placenames, the stalapuranas and related legends have only tertiary value. The toponymist has to handle them very diligently or cautiously and if he could get any clues as to the derivation of a place-name and its cultural background, then it is worth taking it. However, these legends must be studied as a part of folklore and then only it would be of much use for both the fields. (cf. Bhatt 1979).

generally of scheduled castes or tribes, who in one or other way, have played a role in naming a place. Very often, according to these traditions, the lingas would be discovered by them accidentally while ploughing in the field or collecting fuel or dry leaves in forest. When their sharp weapons touch these stones, they start bleeding, looking at which these innocent people would scream and faint. Very often the women mistake the oozing blood of the linga for that of their beloved sons and they scream and call by the names of their sons, which in turn, become the names of the villages thenceforth. Madhur, Yellur, Kollur, Sisila, Pernankila and Peraje are a few examples for this.

The memory of our epics, especially Mahābhārata, is quite alive among our rural folk also. The attribute some of the events in the Mahābhārata to have taken place here in their homeyard and go a long way to convince us of the antiquity and sanctity of their village, and thus, the place 'Maṇipura' has been popular as the capital city of the Prince Babhruvāhana, the traces of whose fortress could be still found here. The town of Viṭla, they contend, is not other than 'Ēkacakrapaṭṭaṇa' the Brahmins' agrahāram mentioned in Mahābhārata. Bhīma is said to have driven the cart to the present gate of 'Ukkuḍa' where he fought against Bakāsura and killed him. Netrakere is yet another place associated with the events of the Mahābhārata period. It is at Aḍūr, in Kasargod, they argue that, the God Śiva, disguised as a hunter, and Arjuna fought against each other; the story has become so popular that they have changed the name of the Post Office of the village Aḍūr as 'Uruḍur' i.e., 'the place of fight'.

There are also some legendary heroes whose names are said to have been given to places. For instance, the name 'Basarūr', as the tradition goes, has been derived from 'Vasupura', which commemorates the name of the king 'Vibudhavasu', who is said to have established his regime here. Uḍupi and Kadiri are associated with the great sage namely Lord Paraśurāma. Likewise, the place-names such as Peraḍūr, Byndūr, Chāntār, are connected with the proper name of different local sages.

Folk etymologies have been, in some cases, instruments evoking fun and amusement through vulgar or humorous interpretation. This reveals, perhaps, how people have developed curiosity on place-names and how, in turn, it has reflected on the understanding and interpretation of a place-name, and, for this reason at least, their study would be useful for a student of folkloristics and cultural anthropology. Anybody can imagine that it has been the creation

of a class of people who enjoyed a lot of leisure at their disposal which must have been fully exploited in derivation of place-names challenging their imagination and intelligence. This peculiar tendency of the people is to be assigned anthropologically to a later period in the history of man. Again, this sort of etymologising has to be treated as a never endings and continuous process[4]. For instance, the name 'Bajpe'[5] is considered to be the derivative of 'Baji + appe', 'the mother devoid of her child' as the story goes, whom she had lost in a cleavage below a hilly elevation known as Toḷaguri. Again, some place-name-clusters are used sequentially by the rural folk just to narrate an imaginary story or event. For instance, 'Kaṭpāḍi–Kaḍekār–Kuṭpāḍi'. They relate these names, which are obviously adjacent to one another, to the mythological hero namely Babhruvāhana, who is believed to have passed an order to 'tie' the horse of Aśvamādha at Kaṭpāḍi, and to 'cut' its lower foot at Kuṭpāḍi. Yet another instance for this is the chain of place-names namely 'Māṇi –Koḍange– Guddoli–Deppoḷi–Buḍōḷi'. This goes to narrate a story of a 'Māṇi' (a Brahman boy) who was beaten harshly and robbed of his ear-ring and then let free. It follows from this that the rural folk has used certain names around them and probed into them curiously through a joky story. It is this curiosity and interest among people in the matter of place-name origin and interpretation, that has, in a way preserved it alive and alert for ages.

Some of these derivations are spontaneous among persons with good imagination and powerful as well as pleasing expression. In this regard, the place of Sanskirt language and the Sanskrit scholars living under the shelter of temples and any religious institutions is of utmost importance, whose works of whims and

[4]The process of folk etymologising would continue as long as there are place-names, and because that naming is a continuous process.

[5]The old version of the place-name 'Bajpe' seems to have been 'Pāḷadakaṭṭe', even today the natives and old people cling to that form. Bajpe, then, may be considered as a locality-name which, subsequently rose to prominence due to some or other reasons. As the names get more and more localised, the problem creeps in as to the identification and interpretation by others and by natives themselves. "The usage of most placenames is highly local, and they are thus susceptible to dialectical variation and even to personal whim. Placenames thus tend to depart from the rest of the language and to become unintelligible to the ordinary person, except in so far as they are "re-interpreted" by folk-etymology" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 15.*)

fancies become a powerful weapon of the temple or religious authorities in realising their selfish object, i.e., creating a paraphernalia of antiquity around the local deity (or the temple or locality) so that more of devotees would be attracted and more riches amassed. Strictly speaking, this "Sanskritization" (Bhatt 1976, 6:4) of placenames occurs mainly more as a sociological phenomenon than being merely a linguistic one. And, hence, even outside the axis of temples and 'the elites', as a result of fast advancing civilization, the craving for the newer fashion for the modern or rather sophistic, has become rampant even among the laymen without a good education. Thus, placenames have been successively 'sanskritized' by the society in general, just as the sanskritization of the native surnames. But in sociology, the term 'sanskritization' implies a change in the social position of a person or class and not in its structure as such (Srinivas 1972:7). But, on the otherhand, in toponymy, the process of sanskritization has its impact both on morphology and meaning (Bhatt 1976, 6:4) This is noticeable even in the following ordinary examples, viz. Kuḍuma – Dharmastaḷa, Attūr – Arthapura, Kāvu–Svārāma, Pīpaḷḷa–Aśvattapura, Kōṭa – Kūṭamahājagat, and so on.

* * * *

The place-names of Tuḷunāḍu are the true and lively replica of our people's maximum involvement in life on the lap of nature rather than escape from life and nature. And, therefore, the topographical names in Tuḷunāḍu far outweigh the anthroponymic place-names and other kinds of 'cultural names' (Bhatt 1977). To an outsider, these names would look rather crude or unsophistic but they are highly relevant and self-explanatory from topographical point of view. The Tuḷuvās have exposed themselves to the bountics of nature and never betrayed it unlike their counterparts in upghat regions who have set an example in naming places after local heroes and in worshipping personalities in the place of nature. This fundamental difference in attituds of people in naming, may be taken as a most natural phenomenon, but the reason for this difference has to be found in the degrees of intensity of relation between the nature and the man. Even when places are named

[6]The increase in naming has to be ascribed to the occupation of new so far uninhabited places resulting from density of population on the one hand, and broadened geographical knowledge resulting from increase in movement of population, on the other.

after personalities, they are confined to a part or corner of a village. More often these place-names amount to a house name or a field name having association of ownership or the first settlement in a particular part of a village[6] To cite a few examples for this– Kenchanakere, Kañtana beṭṭu Akkari hitlu, Gummaṭa gadda, Kāmanabailu, Iṭṭu mūle, Bommayyalaccilu, Nandugōḷi Rangappayyanakaṭṭe, Manjakoṭya, Ranganakeri, etc.

The memories of local chieftains and rulers have been stamped in a few placenames. For example – Bangāḍi, Damaskaṭṭe, Chowṭarbeṭṭu, Ajilamogru, Atikaribettu, Sīmantūru, Bāvakōḍi, Arasaraguttu, Sultanikaṭṭe, Sankalakariya and the like.

The fact that Tuḷunāḍu has been popular as 'miniature India' as far as castes are concerned, is best revealed in place-names containing surnames of different castes and classes. The following examples would give a sample of it.

Ayya (a honorific phrase in addressing a Brahmin) Ayyana kaṭṭe, Ayyarakōḍi.

Bhaṭṭa	:	Bhaṭrakere, Bhaṭrabail, Bhaṭrajeḍḍu
Urāḷa	:	Urāḷa kēri
Upādhya	:	Upādhyarabeṭṭu
Kannara	:	Kannarpāḍi, Kannaraḍka
Chātra	:	Chātrabeṭṭu
Bāyāri	:	Bāyāri beṭṭu
Mayya	:	Mayyāḍi, Mairpāḍi, Mairkomme
Hebbār	:	Hebbārike, Hebbārbeṭṭu
Varṇa	:	Varṇāsi, Varṇabeṭṭu
Madhyasta	:	Madhyastarbeṭṭu
Nāvuḍa	:	Nāvuḍarbeṭṭu
Nāyār	:	Nāyārbeṭṭu, Nāyārkōḍu
Māyila	:	Māyippāḍi, Māyilaje, Māyiloṭṭu Māyikaḷa
Bāliga	:	Bāḷigarakudru
Balyāya	:	Balyāyakōḍi, Balyārakāpu
Bhilla	:	Bhillaraḍka, Billārbeṭṭu
Moili	:	Moilikēri
Baidya	:	Baidyarbeṭṭu
Payyār	:	Payyārbeṭṭu
Jain	:	Jainpēṭe, Jainarbeṭṭu
Gowḍa	:	Gowḍar Jeḍḍu
Chittāri	:	Chittāritopla, Chittāribail

Konkaṇa	:	Konkaṇhithlu, Konkaṇguṇḍi, Koṇkaṇbeṭṭu
Parava	:	Paraverekōḍi
Moger	:	Mogavīrpēṭe
Marāṭi	:	Marāṭikēri, Marāṭiguḷi
Byāri	:	Byāribailu
Pūnja	:	Punjaje, Punjalakaṭṭe.

The following names prove the existence of different industries and professions in the respective places. Agasara pālu, Kelesikodi, Kammarpālu, Kammarsāle, Āchārimūle, Akkasaligārākēri, Kanchigāra kūṭlu, Karṇikara beṭṭu, Kājigārabeṭṭu, Dēvāḍigarabeṭṭu, Bōvipaṭṇa, Nalke beṭṭu, Pambada beṭṭu, Sēnārbenni, Shānubhōgara kudru, Nēkārpēṭe, Kumbāra beṭṭu and the like.

Place-name also speaks of religious position of a place. There are a few few examples for place-names which commemorate the local deities – gods as well as devils (Bhūtas) e.g. Anantapura, Pāṇḍāśwara, Rāmakunja, Sōmēśvara, Śankaranārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇamangala, Kumāra mangala, Subraḥmaṇya; Kalkuṭa, Bobbaḷa, Bhūtaḍka, Bommaroṭṭu, Baggerekallu etc. The names like Dharmataḍka & Dharmadgōḷi represent the religious peculiarities of the places.

Since the district is well irrigated by natural sources of water, the main occupation of the people is agriculture and it is but natural that a number of place-names make a reference to vegetation, different agricultural fields or parts of fields and the like e.g., Sasihitlu, Kūvehithlu; Toṭṭam, Darjitōṭa, Koppaltōṭa; Eṇṇebailu, Jangrabāḷu; Manjaḷmāru, Sowtemāru, Koḍibailu, Pitlakāḍ (i.e. Pitroḍi), Kattadabial, Koḷkebail; Bāḷepuṇi, Kuḍta kumeri; Saṇṇakkibeṭṭu and so on.

Quite a large number of examples for fauna which have been responsible for naming places, are available in the district. A fēw important are given hereunder : Kemmattūru, Kemminje; Kāṭipaḷḷa, Kāṭikaje, Kāṭkōḷi; Āneguṇḍi, Anemajalu; Ettinaṭṭi, Erukaḍappu; Ermettoṭṭi, Kudkanāḍu; Gōpāḍi, Gopaḷke; Puḷu Pakkibeṭṭu, Pakśikere; Panjinaḍe; Bāvalikudru; Mīmagadde; Pilipanjara; Mudalāje etc.

Tee frequency of occurrence of different names of flora in Tulu place-names is next only to topographical names. This

indirectly suggests how rich the district has been in forst products.[7]. To mention o few of them : Goli : Golikatte, Bajagoli.

Aṇila	:	Aṇalāḍi, Aṇilakaṭṭe
Ambaḍe	:	Ambaḍepāḍi, Ambaḍegadde
Ichalu	:	Iclaṁpāḍi, Iclaṅgōḍu
Kāsarka	:	Kāsargōḍ, Kānjarkaṭṭe
Koḍase	:	Koḍasinabēru
Kunṭla	:	Kuntlapāḍi, Kunṭalgudde
Kukku	:	Kukkudaḍi, Kāṭkukku, Puḷikukku
Gēru (also Gōve)	:	Gērkaṭṭe, Gērkop; Gōvehāḍi, Gōvehitlu
Dhūpa	:	Dhūpadahāḍi, Dhūpadakaṭṭe
Pela	:	Pilatkaṭṭe, Pelattūru
Peja	:	Pejamāḍi, Pejattakaṭṭe
Bēnga	:	Bēngaje, Bēngamale
Basri	:	Basrūr, Basrikaṭṭe
Banni	;	Banninje, Bannyāla
Bedru	:	Bedra (i e. Mūḍabidure), Bedraḍka
Muchila	:	Muchilkōḍu, Muchilbail
Nērḷa	:	Nērḷakaṭṭe, Nērḷakaje
Nekki	:	Nekkila, Nekkilaḍi[8]

A few place-names give us an insight into the local business or economic life of the people in the region. Some of them are ; Santekaṭṭe; Sunkadakaṭṭe; Haleangaḍi, Uppinangaḍi, Bellatangaḍi and Madhyampēṭe.

The cock-fight, Buffalo-race, and hunting are the main entertainments of the common folk in Tuḷunāḍu even today. These hobbies and recreations are described in the form of place-names such as Ankamāru, Aukataḍka, Ankatimāru; Kamblatōṭa, Kambala majalu, Kambalakaṭṭa; Bōnṭaḍka and so on. (Bhatt – in print)

Distinct events and special or unique topographical features of localities have also contributed their share in the emergence of place-names. It is very interesting to note that the suburbs of the fish market at Viṭle is called 'BOOBEKĒRI', since it would be always very busy as well noisy. A 'KAṬṬE', i.e. embankmant

[7]More than 80% of the place-names in Tuḷunāḍu account for geographical or natural names.

[8]This list is not comprehensive. A voluminous glossory may be prepared of the flore and fauna mentioned in the place-names of the land.

at the foot of a tree used for shade and shelter, where buttermilk is freely distributed among the passengers, bears the name 'Majjige-kaṭṭe'. A place lying on the midway between Puttur and Subramanya is named as 'SAMĀDI' (Sama + hādi, i.e. equal distance'), of course described so by the cart-drivers, who in olden days, carried things from one town to another and took rest for a while in this place, after having passed half the distance. Likewise, a dirty place not meant for comfortable living is described as 'NALKA' i.e. 'NARAKA' (the Hall). On the other hand, a fertile place with affluent water is named as 'SVARGA' – the inhabitants at this place are really blessed with heavenly experience (Bhatt – in print) A steep point of the hill would be 'NISHĀNI' or 'KODIMARA', i e. 'the flagpost', whereas a very deep place would be 'PĀTĀḶA'.

We could notice strange beliefs connected with certain places, apparently superstitious and absurd, which are still being observed by our people. These beliefs may range from taking a sacred bath in the temple's tank or dedicating certain things or images to the deity to get relieved of ailments of human beings and domestic animals to feeding the Brahmins in the temple with an ardent faith that the deity of the place would be pleased with it and protect their crops from harmful insects and worms. To name a few places with which these beliefs are associated are Mujuṁgāvu, Mōnṭetaḍka, Suriya and Chitrāpura. (Bhatt – in print)

Lastly, a few words on proverbs. A few of the proverbs in the district make reference to place-names, which though not very useful in derivation of the name, would have much cultural or folkloristic value. Most of them have a tendency simply to play upon the external form of the name in a proverb or alliteration which is tagged to a situation or event or behaviour of a person very much spontaneously. However, in general, an insight into the geographical, historical or cultural peculiarities could be had through the study of these proverbs.

There are some places which have a proverbially well-known place or name in certain things of domestic use. They have been so popular for these things that the place-name and the thing are almost synonymously referred to and exchanged one another. For example:

Brinjal	:	Maṭṭu & Peraṁpaḷḷi
Jaggery	:	Kundāpura
Pappadam	:	Kārkaḷa

Sweet cucumber	:	Poḷali
Pepper	:	Harākaḷa (Uḍupi)
Sea fish	:	Mūlki
Earthen Pot	:	Uppinangaḍi
Jasmine	:	Shankarpura
Tamarind	:	Bajipe
Rice cake	:	Memmattūr and so on

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THE NOMINATIVE IN TUḶU

P. Srikrishna Bhat
Govt. College, Kasargod

Dravidian linguists are of the opinion that in the Dravidian languages the nominative is not provided with a case termination. Nor can the nominative be said to be a case in this family of languages. Generally the original base or crude form or what the Sanskrit Grammarians call 'Prātīpadika' itself stands as the form of the nominative. But the traditional grammarians of these languages assign one or the other suffix to the nominative case. This too can be observed in Tuḷu.

The first grammatical work in Tuḷu is the "Grammar of the Tuḷu Language" written by Brigel in the year 1872. S. V. Paṇiyāḍi published his "Tuḷu vyākaraṇa" in the year 1932, 60 years after Brigel wrote his grammar. Only these two traditional grammatical works on Tuḷu are available at present.

Brigel says in his chapter on "Declension of Substantives" that the nominative singular is the same as the crude form of the word. But later he mentions 'a', 'u', 'e' as the nominative singular case affixes. Paṇiyāḍi considers 'u' as the nominative case affix. According to him this 'u' either disappears or is changed to 'e' in the nominative.

In fact, words ending in other than 'a' in Tuḷu become the nominative singular without any addition or alteration. The nominative plural is formed by adding the suffixes of plural to the singular form.

Eg:	*Singular*	*Plural*
	Kuri	Kurikuḷu
	Guru	Gurukuḷu
	Sammale	Sammalegaḍikuḷu
	Āṇ	Āṇkuḷu

The same rule holds good in the case of Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu also. Words ending in 'a' change the final 'a' either into 'e' or 'o' in the nominative singular. Sometimes the elision of 'e' is also found in plural.

Eg: é:

Singular	*Plural*
Ammé	Ammérụ, Ammanākuḷu
Aṇṇé	Aṇṇérụ Annanākuḷu
Parayé	Parayérụ. Parayanākuḷu
Magé	Mag.ḍikuḷu

o:

Maro	Marokuḷu
Petto	Pettokuḷu
Jīvo	Jīvokuḷu

According to Brigel 'amme' 'mage', etc., are themselves the crude forms. So he says nothing about the change of 'a' into 'e'. But it is clear by his examples that the inflexional base of these nouns are ending in 'a' in singular.

Eg: Kudikkagụ, Kudikkanụ, Ammagụ, Ammanụ, Magakkụ, Magana.

The forms of the vocative singular of these words show that these words are originally ending in 'a'.

Eg: Kudikka, Amma, Maga, etc.

Brigel is silent about the change of 'a' into 'o'. However, Paṇiyāḍi says that there are no Tuḷu words ending with 'o'. But the final 'a' sometimes becomes 'o' (Paṇiyāḍi 1932 : 27). For this he gives examples such as 'maro' 'marokuḷu' 'maronụ', etc. Now these two 'è' and 'o' are to be examined. Before that it is better to examine the views of the grammarians of other Dravidian languages, regarding the nominative case.

According to old Kannaḍa grammarians the words ending in 'a' receive 'anuswāra' as their nominative affix. In old Kannaḍa the final 'm' and 'n' are usually changed into 'anuswāra'. So it is to be borne in mind that 'anuswāra' represents either 'n' or 'm'. In all other cases, the masculine crude forms with final 'a' take 'n' as their inflexional increment. In the same manner neuter words take 'm' as their inflexional increment in the accusative case.

Telugu grammarians considered 'mu', 'vu', 'ḍu', and 'be' as the signs of nominative case. Here also they have considered the

two factors, namely, word-ending and gender. Tamil and Malayalam grammarians, on the other hand, did not assign any suffix to the nominative case, but considered the name itself (Peyar) as the form of the nominative. Even though the final 'n' and 'm' of Tamil and Malayalam words are identical to the final 'n' and 'm' of Kannaḍa words, the grammarians of those languages never separated them from words and did not call them the signs of nominative. But there is a clue to understand that the 'n' and 'm' are the signs of masculine and neuter respectively. According to Tolkāppiyar "the consonant 'n̲' signifies male-denoting word" (Tolkappiyam, Col : 5). In this case, to some extent, the author of 'Līlātilakam (Līlātilakam, 29–30), the first Malayalam grammar, also proceeds in the foot-steps of Tolkāppiyar.

From a close examination of the nominative form of Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam we can find out the true nature of the 'n' (an) and 'm' (am) correctly. According to the gender system of Dravidian languages the 'an' and 'am' are the signs of High Cast masculine and castless neuter respectively in Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. It is one of the characterstics of these languages to assign the sign of masculine and neuter to the words ending in 'a' only. With this background we shall be in a position to examine the 'é' and 'o' as stated before.

é :

The following comparison of nouns, pronouns and pronominal terminations (III person masculine singular) will make the nature of the 'é' clear.

Kannaḍa	Tamil	Malayalam	Tuḷu	Telugu
Nouns				
Aṇṇan				
Aṇṇa	Aṇṇan̲	Aṇṇan	Aṇṇé	Anna
Kollã	Kollan̲	Kollan	Kollé	—
Magan				
Maga	Makan̲	Makan Mōn	Magé	Maga
Rāman				
Rāma	Rāman̲	Rāman	Rāmé	Rāmuḍu
Pronouns				
Avan				
Avanu	Avan̲	Avan	Āyé	vāḍu
Ivan				
Ivanu	Ivan̲	Ivan	Imbé	vīḍu

Pronominal Terminations

an				
anu	ān	—	é	ḍu
Bandan				
Bandanu	vandān	—	Batté	—
Unḍan				
Unḍanu	Unḍān	—	Uniyé	—

It has now been established that 'é' appears in Tuḷu wherever 'an' or 'n' appears in Kannaḍa, Tamil and Malayalam, ḍu in Telugu. So we can conclude that the origin of both 'an' and 'é' must be identical. According to K. Ramakrishnayya "At a particular period in the History of these languages when the masculine forms had to be distinguished from those of the other genders, the primitive Dravidians seem to have added to the original castless form the termination 'an' with which they have been very familiar in the masculine pronominal form 'avan'. Eg: Magan, Paidan etc..... when once this method crept into the language it was easily extended also to the words borrowed from Sanskrit. Eg: Raman, Krishnan, Putran, etc. (Ramakrishniah : 99.)" According to the phonetic changes of Telugu 'avan' has been changed into 'vāḍu' and 'ivan' into 'vīḍu'. In due course " 'du' was separated from the rest of the word as a particle signifying the idea of the nominative case. Then it became the termination of the nominative case to be naturally added on to other words in the language." (ibid : 99) In the same manner 'an' might have changed into 'é' in Tuḷu.

This 'é' is a peculiar phoneme in Tuḷu. As explained in the "Tulu – English Dictionary" it is articulated at a point slightly higher than that of 'é' (Tulu – English Dictionary : 33). The difference between these two phonems can be easily distinguished. (i) This peculiar 'é' is mainly a masculine suffix;[1] it stands neither as a part of the word or nominal base; (ii) while adding case-endings the difference between these two phonemes becomes more evident.

e.g:	e	é
	Sammāle	Marmayé
	Sammālenṵ	Marmāyanṵ
	Sammāledtṵ	Marmāyadtṵ

[1]This 'é' is also employed as a suffix in second person plural verbs in the imperative mood". (Tuḷu-English Dictionary 1967 : 33.)

Originally 'Sammāle' is a word ending in 'e' which does not change before the case-endings beginning with the accusative case, while 'Marmāya' which ends in 'a' changes its final 'a' into 'é' in the nominative. On the other hand the final 'e' is retained, in all cases, in the former while the latter retains 'a' except in the nominative,

The feminine words ending in 'a' also change their final 'a' into 'e' (not é) on the analogy of masculine words. This change, however, is optional.

appa	appe
appanụ	appenụ
appadtụ	appedtụ

It would be clear to the readers that the above-mentioned examples prove conclusively that 'é' is the masculine suffix in the Tuḷu nominative. However it is to be further probed by research scholars as to how the final 'an' ('in') got changed into 'é'.

O : Similarly, while 'é' comes in the place of 'an' (or n) of Kannaḍa, Tamil and Malayalam, 'o' comes in the place of 'am' (m) in the same group though this 'o' is rarely found in some dialects.

Eg :

Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Tulu	Telugu	
aram ara	aram	aram	aro	—	file
ōḍam ōḍa	ōṭam	ōṭam	ōḍo	ōḍa	boat
nogam noga	nukam	nukam	nugo	noga	yoke
āṭam āṭā	āṭṭam	āṭṭam	āṭo	āṭa	play
kūṭam kūṭa	kūṭṭam	kūṭṭam	kūṭo	kūṭamu	assembly

In Kannaḍa also the final am (m) is not found at present. According to some scholars (Gundert, Caldwell) 'am' is closely connected with the neuter pronoun 'adu' of Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. 'avu' is the third person neuter pronoun (both singular and plural) in Tuḷu. It is possible that 'avu' might have come from 'am'. In that case there is a possibility of 'am' becoming 'o' when it is used as suffix. As said in "Kerala Paniniyam" final 'am' changes, sometimes, into 'om' in Malayalam. (Keraḷa Pāṇinīyam : 110)

Eg :	am	om
	iḍavam	idavom
	kumbham	kumbhom
	kapham	kaphom

even in old Kannada we can see both the suffixes 'an' and 'on' in use.

Eg: Pōdan – Pōdon, Āvan – Āvon etc.

In the same manner in Tuḷu also the 'am' might have changed into 'om' and later 'o'. Then it will not be wrong to say that this 'o' is the sign of the casteless neuter.

The influence of this 'o' can be noticed in the spoken Malayalam of Kasaragod though it is very rare.

Eg:	Maram	Marõ
	Pālam	Pālõ
	Maṅṅalāvaram	Maṅṅalāvarõ

As a Dravidian language Tuḷu has no nominative suffix. The crude base itself or crude base with the sign of the gender stands as the nominative. The gender suffixes 'é' and 'o' are related to the true nature of Tuḷu language. It cannot be ascribed to the influence of Sanskrit or other languages.

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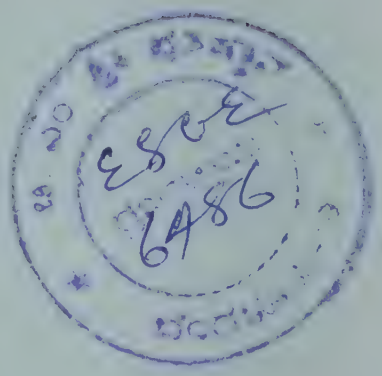
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TULU TEACHING

B. A. Viveka Raj
Mangalore University

When we talk about 'Tulu Teaching'. we are expected to answer some ready made questions like why, to whom and how. The first two questions are interrelated and the last one has to depend mostly on the explanation given to the first two. Whatever may be the different approaches in the language teaching, one should be completely aware of the cultural context and function of a given language, before jumping into the methodology of language teaching which was formulated for different languages in different situations.

Tulu is a spoken language, having the speakers spread mostly in the region, having Suvarna and Chandragiri rivers as the northern and southern boundaries respectively, whereas the Western Ghats and Arabian Sea forming the eastern and Western boundaries respectively. Apart from its social and regional dialects, Tulu has two kinds of speakers in this region: (1) People whose mother tongue is Tulu (2) People whose mother tongues are Konkani dialects of Kannada like Havyaka, Kota, etc. & Marathi, Malayalam etc., but use mostly Tulu as the link language. This statement may have some exceptions in towns. To the first group of speakers, Tulu is the first language, and to the second group it is the second language. Both the categories of people usually speak Tulu before entering the primary schools. These two kinds of Tulu speaking communities learn Kannada and English only in the formal school education. Tulu is usually kept outside the school and college premises and the author can recollect his college days when the discipline of some colleges were such, that the students who spoke Tulu inside the college building were mercilessly fined.

So, in Tulu teaching, the learners should be those who do not know Tulu. This implies that the people of this district, whose

mother tongue is Tulu and those whose link language is Tulu, need not learn that language in its technical sense. Then Tulu learning applies only to those who come to this region from outside, with different mother tongues. Usually people from Karnataka and from neighbouring states like Kerala and Tamilnad, who come over to this area are students, teachers, doctors, engineers, businessmen, bank employees, Govt. officials, manual labourers etc. The duration of their stay varies from some months to some years. During that period, they are expected to move with the people in different ways. So, they are forced to learn Tulu, which serves as a link language to a higher degree when compared to other languages like Kannada, and there arises the necessity of learning Tulu. But the degree of necessity varies from profession to profession, and from person to person. A businessman needs Tulu more than a college teacher. The function of Tulu here is to communicate at various levels. So, the teaching of Tulu should vary according to its function, which again depends on the profession of the Tulu learning people. In this learning process, Tulu will be a second language for some people and foreign language to others. Mention can also be made about the necessity of Tulu learning for the foreigners who come to this region frequently to study some facets of Tulu culture like Bhutaradhane, Yakshagana, etc. Some specific cultural aspects should be considered in this context of Tulu teaching. The author has only a limited experience in Tulu teaching for Kannada speaking students at the Post-graduate level and this will also be discussed in the course of this paper.

Methodology of Tulu Teaching

Like any language teaching, in Tulu teaching also, the Direct Method and linguistic approach should be used. The outdated grammar-translation method should be avoided. The two approaches in language teaching are generally known as the behaviouristic approach and the cognitive approach. The results of linguistics, the psychology of human learning, the age and education of the pupils or the personality and capacity of the individual student are the main factors in language teaching (Robert Lado, 1974). Proficiency in the target language as far as Tulu is concerned, includes only two skills : understanding and speaking. The skill of reading and writing does not arise in this context.

Language and Culture

In teaching a language, one must touch upon the cultural that language serves to communicate. The cultural content of Tulu

varies depending on the purpose and context of communication. For a person who stays in a city, it is sufficient to learn Tulu to communicate with bus conductors, shop keepers, hotel servents and so on. Here the vocabulary is limited and the conversational Tulu of fundamental nature with certain specific contexts is enough. For instance, when two persons meet each other, one will put the question 'da : nE' (What ?), and the reply from the other's response will be 'ɛḍḍe' (Good).

But it is essential in language learning to understood the cultural units of meaning attached to units of expression such as words, idioms and proverbs. These units of meaning are 'elementary meaning units' (EMUs) in the culture and differ from culture to culture and therefore from language to language. For example, when a person takes leave of another, he tells 'barpE'. The meaning of the word 'barpE' is 'I am coming'. But here the contextual meaning is 'I am going'. Since the word 'po : pE' (= I am going) may mean 'going once for all' the word 'barpE' is used while going.

In Tulu, there is a semantic distinction between some parts of the human anatomy and parallel parts of animals. e.g. 'Head' is 'taːE' for a person and 'mutrE' for a fish.

The various words for the issues of human beings and of different animals represent different EMUs in Tulu.

Eg.

Human being – ba : le; cow– kañji; pig –kuruḷe; buffalo – go : nãji (male), pa : rolɯ (female); chicken –kinni; dog–kinni; cat–kinni.

Similarly, the various words that Tulu has for different stages of cocount represent different EMUs in Tulu culture : cenḍelī, karkɯ, boṇḍo, baṇṇaṅga : yi, ta : ra : yi, go : ṇṭu ta : ra : yi.

These EMUs point to the need for understanding Tulu culture through Tulu language itself rather than through translations. Learning cultural content through the target language will not only identify the EMUs of the target culture but will give the student freedom to extend his understanding of the target culture indepdently, according to his interests. (Robert Lado, 1974). Some important principles of language teaching which can also be applied to Tulu teaching are :

1. **Speech before wiriting**: Regarding Tulu teaching, the the question of writing does not arise.

2. **Basic sentences:** Basic conversational sentences should be practiced, so that students can understand the context of the usage of words. Here questions, requests and answers constitute such dialogues.

Eg.

(1) i : regɯ o : ḍegɯ po : voḍɯ ? (To where you have to go ?)
enkɯ kuḍlagɯ po : voḍɯ (I have to go to Mangalore)

(2) nikkɯ ca : bo : ḍo ? (Do you want tea)
enkɯ ca : bo : ḍci, enkɯ pe : rī bo . dɯ
(I don't want tea, I want milk)

(3) i : rɯ elle barparo : ? (Will you come tomorrow ?)
and, ya : nɯ elle barpE, (Yes, I will come tomorrow)

3. **Patterns as Habits:** The pattern practice is through analogy, variation and transformation.

Eg.

Ya : nɯ tinpE (I am eating)
i : tinpa (You are eating)
a : ye tinpE (He is eating)
na : yi tinpundu (Dog is eating)
puccE tinpundu (Cat is eating)
petta tinpundu (Cow is eating)
na : yi parpundu (Dog is drinking)
puccE parpundu (Cat is drinking)
petta parpundu (Cow is drinking)

4. **Sound system for Use:** The teaching of sound system structurally for use by demonstration, imitation, props, contrast and practice.

In the following example, props in the form of articulatory clues and minimal contrasts to focus sharply should be employed.

ya : nɯ *po : pE* (I am going)
a : ye *po : pe* (He is going)

5. **Vocabulary Control:** Though words do not constitute a language, words in basic patterns should be taught. In Tulu teaching, as already mentioned, the degree and nature of vocabulary varies according to the purpose of communication. A person who has to communicate with the village folk should have more vocabulary than a person dealing with the city folk. The vocabulary of Tuluva village folk contains the words of agriculture, different crafts and veraieties of plants and animals. The unique vocabulary connected with 'cock-fight' (ko : rida kaṭṭa) like ba : lī (small knife),

do : re (thread), bolle, panconi, gidiye, maippe, uriye, etc., (different varieties of cocks); 'buffalo race' (Kambula) like pala : yi, kare, nis' : ni, duḍipane, etc., are bound to fall on the ears of a stranger frequently. On special occasions, the rich vocabulary of 'bhuta : ra : dhane' can also be heard.

6. **Graded Patterns**: The patterns that are introduced in the dialogues before they appear in graded steps is to be reduced to minimum. Cumulative steps in Tulu may be of this sort.

Eg.

i : e : po barpa ? (When will you come ?)

i : illaḍe e : po barpa ? (When will you come home ?)

i : pe ṇṭeḍdī– illaḍe e : po barpa ? (When will you come home from the town ?)

i : ma : rīdī pe : ṇṭeḍdī illaḍe e : po barpa ? (When will you come home after selling ?)

i : bajjeyi ma : rīdī pe : ṇṭeḍdī illade e : po barpa ?
(When will you come home after selling arecanut ?)

7. **Authentic Language Standards**: In some languages like Chinese, it is said, a standard geographic dialect, Mandarin is recognized as the national standard. In Tulu teaching, the common Tulu (Nonbrahmin Tulu) should be used, though some differences prevail in this social dialect sub-division. But the problem of accepting a standard regional dialect is difficult. The author has faced the problem while teaching Tulu in P. G. Classes for Kannada speaking students whose geographic region of activities is Mangalore city and surrounding places. The author's mother tongue is Tulu, the regional dialect being that of Puttur. But because of his matrimonial relations with Mangalore area and profession also being at Mangalore, his speech has been influenced by Mangalore Tulu. So he formulated his own standard dialect for usage in which both the words of Puttur Tulu and Mangalore Tulu are mixed. Sometimes two words of the same meaning, belonging to the two dialects are found in the speech.

Eg.

da : itta (what) (Puttur Tulu)
da : da (what) (Mangalore Tulu)

Though both 'da : itta' and 'da : da' are in the vocabulary of the author, 'da : da' is used while teaching Tulu to the students because it helps them to communicate in the Mangalore region. So the standard dialect in Tulu teaching should change according to the learner's purpose and the region in which it is communicated.

Memorizing Dialogues: Apart from dialogues, young children can also memorize nursery rhymes, songs, and adults will memorize songs, proverbs, well known poems and quotations.

Tulu nursery rhymes which are usually in the conversational style and of cumulative type can be adopted in Tulu teaching.

Eg.

da : ye dikka da : ye dikka ballī budīja ?
i : re delti teli mayippanuīnaikkī ya : nī da : nodī ?
da : ye poṇṇe da : ye poṇṇe teli mayiīja ?
enna kuḍpunī eli koṇḍo : yinaikkī ya : nī da : nodī ?
da : ye pucce da : ye pucce elinī pattīja ?
ir : re poṇṇu pe : rī bisale nakkiyere buḍandenaikkī
ya : nī da : nodu ?
....
....
so on.

Nursery rhymes like this may not exemplify the basic sentences, but they are enjoyed both by children and adults. The amusing quality of them will make the memorization lively in addition to the compact methodology oriented lessons. Similarly other kinds of folksongs can also be made use of, depending on the capacity of the students.

Motivation for Learning the Target Language outside the Class:

The learning of spoken languages like Tulu should be more lively and meaningful in their cultural contexts. The hostel students can be assigned to come prepared with some dialogues by conversing with cooks and servers in the dining hall and with the fellow students in the hostel. It is adviceable to conduct field trips to have a look at the cultural features by which the students can learn the culture, and then, language without the problem of translation.

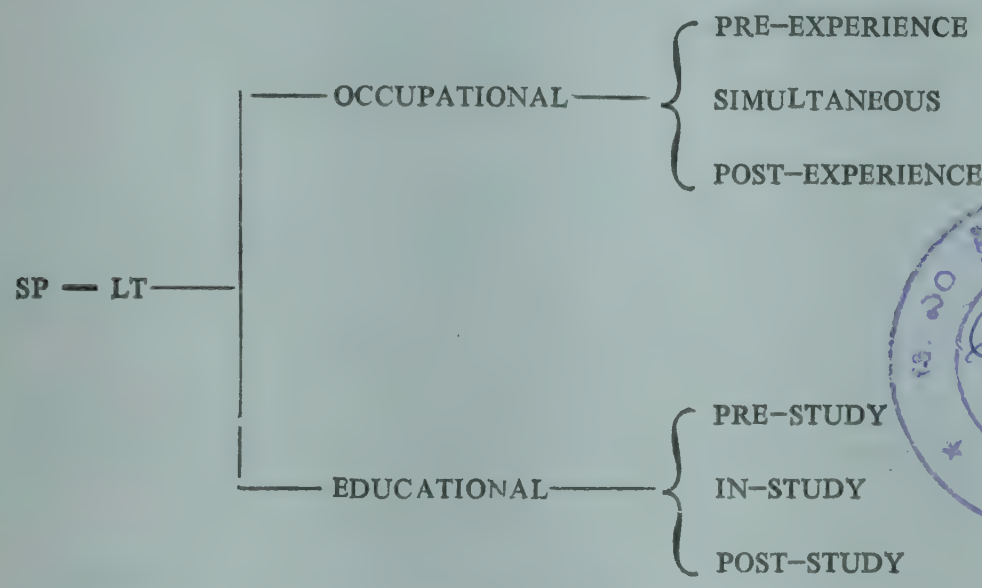
The Language Laboratory: Technological aids are available in Tulu language teaching in this district so far. So, the necessity for installing a language teaching lab for this purpose will help a lot by giving Tulu teaching a scientific background.

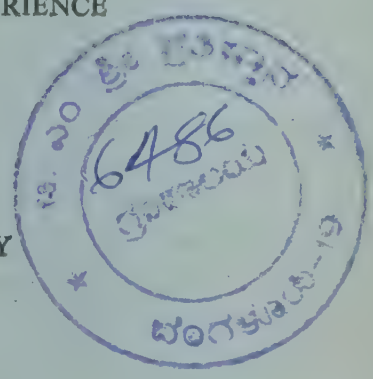
Visual Aids: With certain limitations, depending on the circumstances, visual aids can be used in Tulu teaching.

Special-Purpose Language Learning:

Special-purpose language teaching (SP–LT) occurs whenever the content and aims of the teaching are determined by the

requirements of the learner rather than by external factors such as general educational criteria (Valerie Kinsella 1978).





In the SP–LT Course of Tulu, both occupational and educational purposes are there, the former being the predominant. At present, educational seems to be only at Kannada M. A. classes of P. G. Centre of Mysore University at Mangalagangotri, South Kanara, Karnataka. Here it is for the sake of learning with a cognate language Kannada and inevitably the comparative study of Tulu and Kannada has been given due attention after Tulu learning.

But, for the foreigners who come to this district to conduct research in various cultural fields like Yakshagana, Bhutaradhane, etc., the teaching of Tulu should be concentrated on the respective cultural fields.

A textbook for Tulu teaching should be prepared in the SP–LT courses.

A Note on Teaching Tulu Language and Literature in the Primary and Secondary Schools :

Standard Tulu dialect can be taught in the primary schools of Tulunad in a systematic way, just like Kannada has been taught here and in other parts of Karnataka. This type of Tulu teaching should be undertaken side by side with Kannada teaching. Tulu folk literature and some representative work of Tulu written literature can be introduced in the primary and secondary schools at least one paper in the beginning. One essential measure that may be taken for the survival and development of Tulu is to introduce it as a compulsory subject in the schools of this region and to teach

some subjects like agriculture, fisheries, etc., in Tulu medium to those who intend to enter the field for their livelihood after their formal education. In schools, instead of punishing the students for talking in Tulu, Tulu sentences should be cited as examples to enable the students to learn the language effectively.

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AGENT SUPPRESSION IN KANNADA AND TULU

V. G. Bhat
Tumkur

1. Every natural language displays its manifold complexities of grammar and to analyse and find out a suitable solution to such problems become a hard task. Kannada and Tulu, the two South Dravidian languages, bring us many problems of their grammars and one among them is their similar patterned sentence structures.

Modern linguistics has evolved many theoretical formulations for such complexities of grammar. These theoretical implications afford us certain guidelines to explore such sentences of Kannada and Tulu and ascertain their real nature and derivations. An attempt is made in the present paper to bring out certain solutions to such problems of Kannada and Tulu sentences.

2. We find sentences as the following in Kannada and Tulu (the (a) and (b) sentences are of Kannada and Tulu respectively):-

1. (a) haṇa beḷeyuttade / beḷeyitu
 (b) duḍḍu buḷepuṇu / buḷenu
 'Money grows / grew.'
2. (a) haṇa ku:ḍuttade / ku:ḍitu
 (b) duḍḍu ku:ḍuṇu / ku:ḍnu
 'Money gathers / gathered.'
3. (a) me:ju sariyuttade / sariyitu
 (b) me:ju saripuṇu / sarinu
 'The table moves / moved.'
4. (a) ba:gilu tereyuttade / tereyitu
 (b) ba:kilu geppuṇu / getnu
 'The door opens / opened.'

5. (a) hasu (ha : lannu) kareyuttade / kereyitu
 (b) petta (pe : rɯnɯ) boḷipuṇu / boḷinɯ
 'The cow milks / milked.'

6. (a) haṇa (annu) koḍala : guttade / koḍaḷa : ɔitu
 (b) duḍḍu koḷpuṇu / koḷtnɯ
 'Money will be given / was given.'

All the Tulu sentences (i.e. 1. b. – 6. b.) are similar in their surface structures. Except the (6a) all the other sentences of Kannada (i.e. 1.a – 5 a) are also similar in their surface manifestation; but the first five sentences form one set or class in which the (4) and (5) may be considered as a sub–class; the sentence (6) forms another class or set. It is because they have different deep structures and have undergone different transformations.

3. First of all we shall take the first five sentences into consideration. The sentences 1 a – b have deep structures similar to the following :–

Kannada

1.a.

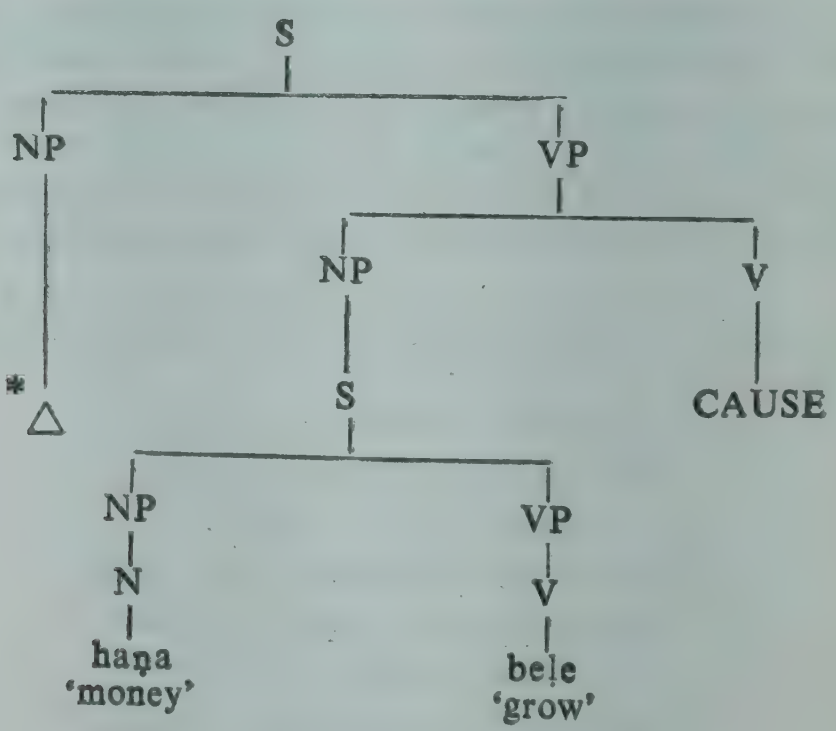


Fig. 1

*△—This symbol stands for (- specific) agent or logical subject as an abstraction and this can be more or less substituted by ya : ro : 'somebody', e : no : 'something', etc., in Kannada and e : ra :, ja : dona :, etc., in Tulu which function as indefinite pronouns in Kannada and Tulu respectively.

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Tulu

1. b.

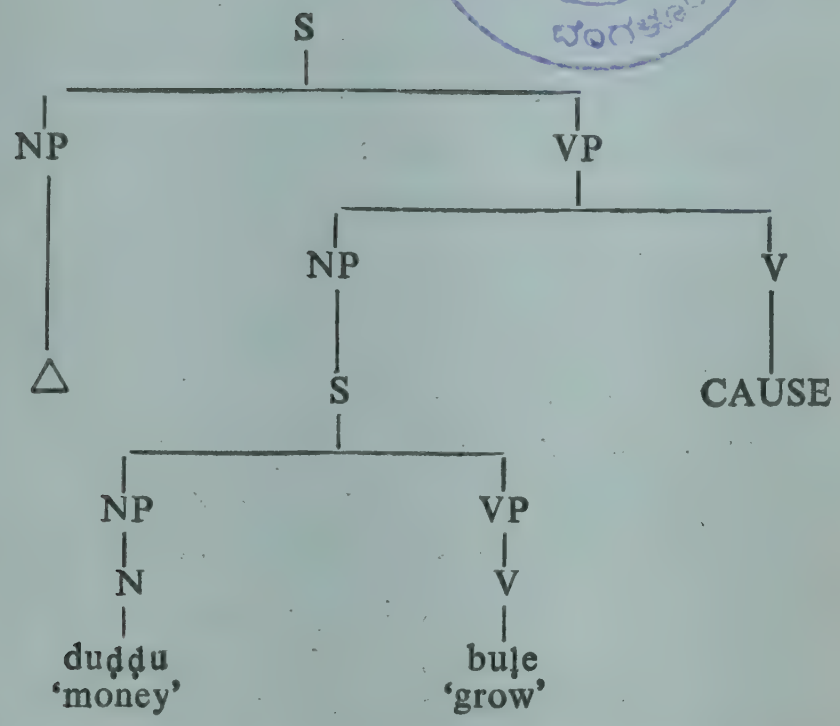


Fig. 2

The deep structure representations for sentences 2–5 (a–b) are not significantly different in syntactic configuration from 1. (a–b) and hence their respective deep structures are not given here.

Since the agent of these causative structures is unspecified or (– specific), the subject of the embedded sentence occupies the subject position of the embedding or matrix sentence by way of Subject Raising transformation; hence the – specific agent is deleted. The causer of these causative structures and the agent are one and the same. So, once the causer is deleted the causative verb is also subsequently deleted. Later on other transformations, concord and the like will operate and we get the sentences like (1 – 5). Therefore it is evident that sentences (1 – 5) have underlying causative sentence structure like :–

7. (a) ya : ro : haṇa(annu) beḷesutta : re / beḷesidaru
 (b) e : ra : duḍḍu(un) buḷepo : perɯ buḷepo : yerɯ
 'Somebody grows money / grew.'

8. (a) ya : ro : haṇa(annu) ku : ḍisutta : re / ku : ḍisidaru
 (b) e : ra : duḍḍu(nu) ku : diso : perɯ/ku : ḍiso : yerɯ
 'Somebody causes / caused the money to gather.'

..... etc.

Consider the following sentences :–

9. (a) nanninda : giye : avanu śri : mantana : da
 (b) ennatta : te : a : ye śri : mante a : ye
 'Only because of me he became rich.'

(c) na : nu ta : ne : avanannu śri : mantananna : gi ma : ḍide

(d) e : nɯ ta : ne : a : yanɯ śri : mante antE
'I only made him rich.'

10. (a) nanninda : giye : avanu badukida

(b) ennatta : te : a : ye badkiye
'Only because of me he survived.'

(c) na : nu ta : ne : avanannu badukiside

(d) e : nɯ ta : ne : a : yanɯ badɾuko : yE
'I only made him survive.'

11. (a) nanninda : giye : haṇa ku : ḍitu

(b) ennatta : te : duḍḍu ku : ḍnu
'Only because of me the money gathered.'

(c) na : nu ta : ne : haṇavannu ku : ḍiside

(d) e : nɯ ta : ne : duḍḍu ku : ḍso : yE
'I only made the money to gather.'

All these (a–c) and (b–d) sentences above stand in paraphrastic relationship but they seem to be syntactically different. The sentences (9a –b to 11 a–b) have the instrumentalized causer and the verb is unmarked for causative. But in the sentences (9c–d to 11 c–d) the causer or the agent is in nominative occupying the subject position and the verb is marked for causative, or in other words the verb is a complex one. From this, it is quite evident that though the verbs in sentences (1 – 5) are not marked for causative, they are really from an underlying causative structure. In support of this argument we can observe the following sentences which are unacceptable :

*12 (a) ya : ru : haṇavannu beḷesalilla, a : dare haṇa beḷeyitu.

(b) e : rla : duḍḍu(nu) buḷepo : naddi, a : ṇḍa duḍḍu buḷenɯ
'Nobody caused the money to grow, but the money grew.'

*13 (a) ya : ru haṇavannu ku : ḍisalilla, a : dare haṇa ku : ḍitu.

(b) e : rla : duḍḍu(nu) ku : ḍso : naddi, a : ṇḍa duḍḍu ku : ḍnu
'Nobody caused the money to gather, but the money gathered."

.....etc.

These sentences are unacceptable because what the previous sentence asserts will be contradicted or denied in the following sentence which will turn out in untruth. Causative construction is such that the caused event is dependent upon causing event. So if the causing event is true then the caused event cannot become untrue. Therefore the contradictory statements like the above sentences will be unacceptable.

Language does not work in vacuum. Human mind knows which kind of things can be dropped in actual discourse and are recoverable. It is the innate knowledge or the intrinsic competence of the ideal native speaker-hearer responsible for the correct functioning of the language. One can understand whether *haṇa* money' in sentences (1a) and (2a) or *me : ju* 'table' in (3a) is the agent or not. The human mind knows that though the verbs in those sentences (1 – 5) are unmarked for causative and though the NPs have occupied the grammatical subject position, they cannot be considered as the logical subjects or Agents in deep structure.

Chomsky (1965. 4–5) says, "A grammar of a language purports to be a description of the ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence..... A fully adequate grammar must assign to each of an infinite range of sentences a structural description indicating how this sentence is understood by the ideal speaker-hearer." Therefore, considering the sentences (1 – 5) as the ones derived from an underlying causative structure will account for the competence of the ideal speaker-hearer and explicitly states how such sentences are understood by the ideal speaker-hearer; hence the arguement holds good in this respect also.

There are two types of causatives found in Kannada as in many other languages. One is morphologically derivable productive type which are complex verbs in nature; the other one is inherent lexical causatives. Syntactically derivable causatives are also there, but we need not go deep into their nature now. The second type may be considered as the amalgamation of syntactic features of transitivity and causation. So, these lexical items differ in their syntactic behaviour in the sense that even in the causative effect or in their causative structure usage they are not marked for the causative as in the case of other verbs *beḷe* 'to grow', *ku : ḍu* 'to gather' *sari* 'to move', and the like. For example :

14. (a) na : nu ba : gilu(annu) teredenu
 (b) e : nɯ ba : kil(ɯnɯ) gettE
 'I opened the door.'

15. (a) na : nu ha : lu(annu) karedenu
 (b) e : nɯ pe : r(ɯnɯ) boḷiyE
 'I milked the milk.'

These verbs behave like transitive verbs when the agent is specified whereas the other verbs like the ones mentioned above behave as intransitives in their surface structures. Even though all these verbs can be grouped under a broad classification the verbs which belong to the second type may be considered as the subclass or sub-set within itself.

There are few verbs in Kannada, Tulu and English (may be in other languages also) which exhibit such a phenomenon of ergativity explained above. For example :

Kannada	*Tulu*	*English*
ku : ḍu	ku : ḍu	to gather
beḷe	buḷe	to grow
sari	sari	to move
tere	geppu	to open
oḍe	oḍe	to break

..... etc.

Acharya (1978) equates the sentences (1 b) and (2 b) with the following :

16. ma : ṇi teḷipuṇu 'Boy laughs.'
17. akke teḷipvaḷɯ 'Elder sister laughs.'
18. janeṅkuḷu teḷipverɯ 'People laugh.'

He calls these sentences (16) to (18) along with the (1 b) and (2 b) as active intransitive sentences. But the sentences (1 b) and (2 b) cannot be equated with the sentences (16 – 18) because the subjects of these (16 – 18) sentences are agents or logical subjects in their deep structures whereas the subjects of the sentences (1 b) and (2 b) are recipients of the action in deep structure. The deep structure to the sentences (16 – 18) is similar to the following :

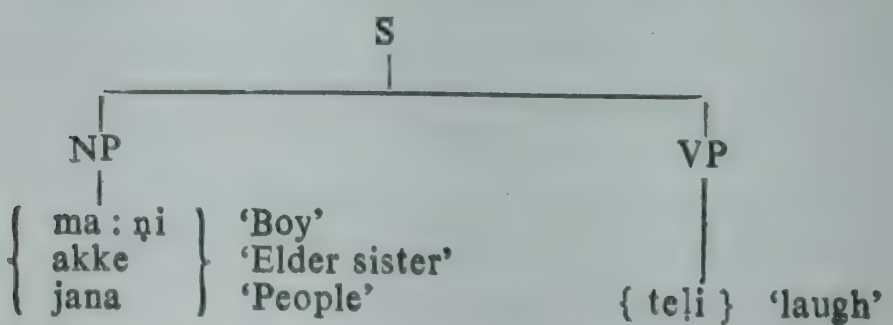


Fig. 3.

A comparison of Fig. 3 with Fig. 2 will clearly show the difference existing in surface structure resemblances of Tulu sentences.

Acharya (Ibid) treats (5b) along with the following :

19. duḍḍu koḷpuṇu 'Money will be given.'
20. kaṇakɯ tumbuṇu 'Firewood will be carried.'
21. kaṇḍa koypuṇu 'Field (crop) will be cut off.'
22. ma : ṇi sūpuṇu 'Boy (i.e. bridegroom) will be sought.'

..... etc.

He considers these sentences as passive. But here we have to note that the sentence (5 b) *petta boḷipuṇu* is not a passive but a sentence derived from an underlying causative structure.

Coming to the first objection of D. N. S. Bhat[1], the question of infinite regress of the embedded sentence which is similar to the surface structure will not be there when we postulate certain deep structures for the surface manifestations because such deep structures are end in themselves for which we do not go on setting up further deep structures. According to his suggestion, if we postulate the surface structure itself as the base structure in the underlying representation, once again his own objection of infinite regress of the derivation will return to him only in the sense that same surface structures set up as the base structure in the underlying level will have to be derived in the same fashion as that surface structure is derived. Moreover, his suggestion does not explicitly account for how such sentences are understood by the native speakers. And it is a fact that almost all the surface structures of the simple sentences will have similar deep structures. Therefore, in view of all these facts, there is no question of regress at all.

Since the author has modified his earlier version of this paper, Bhat's second objection gets weakened for the most part. The author's analysis explicitly points out the grammatical relationships of the different constituents of the sentences in the way a native speaker perceives it; and also, the human mind knows that there should be some agent like human beings or external force

[1]The objections or arguments are the ones raised when the earlier version of this paper was presented in the Seminar on the Preservation of Little-Known Languages - Tulu, Udupi, 1979.

like wind to such events or process like *ba:gilu tereyitu* 'The door opened' to happen. So, there will not arise any danger of linguistic analysis to turn out to be a mythological one.

4. Sentence (6) is entirely different from the rest of the sentences (i.e. 1 – 5). This is an agent suppressed passive construction in Kannada as well as in Tulu. It has the deep structure similar to the following :

6. a.

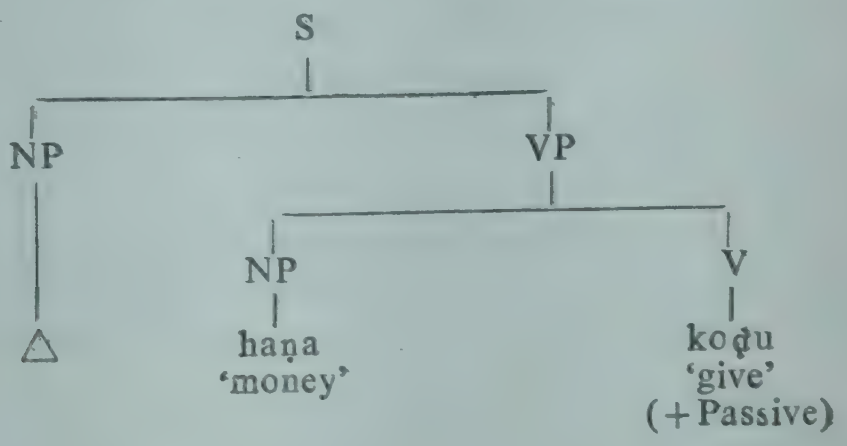


Fig. 4

6. b.

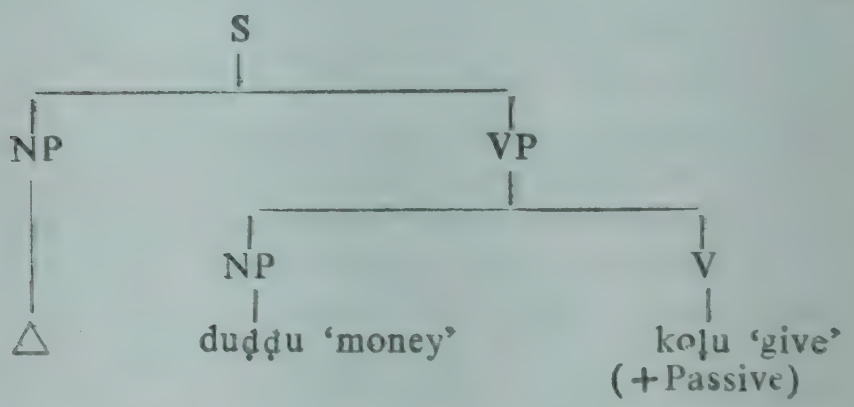


Fig. 5

There are two types of passive constructions in Kannada. Observe the following sentences :

23. kaḷḷaru po:lisarinda cenna:gi hoḍeyal paḍuvaru
'The thieves will be beaten heavily by the police.'

24. kaḷḷaru cenna:gi hoḍeyalpaḍuvaru
'The thieves will be beaten heavily.'

25. (a) kaḷḷarannu cenna:gi hoḍeyala:guvadu
(b) kaḷverenɯ la:yka:tu ha:kuṇu
'The thieves will be beaten heavily'.

The sentences (23) and (24) constitute one type of passive and the (25) another. The only difference between the sentences (23) and (24) is that the agent in the latter is optionally deleted. The sentences (25) and (6) are of same structure.

The first type is a so-called regular passive and the verb is marked for gender, number and person in Kannada. This can be called personal passive. In the second type the verb is unmarked for gender, number and person, so that it can be called impersonal passive. In Tulu, we find only the sentence (25 b) corresponding to the Kannada sentence (25 a) and we don't find at all constructions corresponding to the sentences (23) and (24) of Kannada. In Kannada the verb *a:gu* 'to become' is used in the impersonal passive and it is morphologically third person neuter singular. In Tulu also the impersonal form is morphologically third person neuter singular.

Comrie (1977) argues most convincingly that there are several languages with passives having subject deletion or subject demotion, but lacking object promotion, such as Spanish, Latin, German, Dutch, Polish, Welsh, and Finnish. We can add Kannada and Tulu also to this list. He states, "..... ... an impersonal passive will have no derived subject, and if there are objects (direct or not) in the underlying structure, then these will be retained in the derived structure and will not be promoted to subject. The underlying subject will either be completely absent or will be present as an oblique object. In a number of languages with impersonal passives, it is in fact impossible to give overt expression to the underlying subject, i.e. subject must be deleted rather than demoted." Following the lines of Comrie (Ibid.), Sridhar (1979) established the fact of spontaneous demotion (subsequently deletion) of the subject in impersonal passives illustrating from Kannada. His five arguments based on transformational possibilities are, no doubt, very strong.

It is a fact that the sentences (24) and (25) stand in paraphrastic relationship though they are different in their surface structures. Sridhar (Ibid.) correctly notes that "in terms of discourse function, the impersonal construction is similar to the truncated passive, being used in contexts when the logical subject is either obvious or unknown, or considered irrelevant. In terms of frequency and 'naturalness of usage', however, the impersonal is overwhelmingly preferred."

We can add one more evidence or argument to those of Sridhar's to prove the presence of a logical subject or agent in deep structure of such impersonal passives. The manner adverbials will modify or in other words refer to the act of agent though the agent is overtly unexpressed. For example :

26. (a) yuddhadalli edura:ḷigaḷannu nagunagutta: edurisala:guvadu

 (b) yuddoṇṭu edura:ḷiḷenɯ teḷitto:ntu teḷitto:nte: eduriso:puṇu
 'In the war the opponents will be faced smilingly.'

27. (a) o:ḍāḍuttalp: kelasavannu mugisala:guvadu

 (b) pa:rpa:rte: kelasa antɯ mugipo:puṇu
 'The work will be finished movingly.'

In the above sentences (26) and (27) the manner adverbial *nagunagutta:* 'smilingly', and *o:ḍa:ḍuttale:* 'movingly' (Tu. *teḷitto:ntu teḷitto:nte:* and *pa:rpa:rte:)* invariably refer to the act of the agent. Thus it is clear that there is an agent in the underlying structure of these impersonal passives.

To quote once again Comrie (Ibid.), "If we subsume demotion and deletion under the general term REMOVAL, and give the function of the English Passives – and of the personal passive in other languages – as both SUBJECT REMOVAL and OBJECT PROMOTION, then we have a more unified account of the nature of the personal passive. This kind of passive now has two functions, rather than three, and one of these functions – removal of the subjects is true equally of the impersonal passive. It is precisely subject removal that links personal and impersonal passives, and only if we accept removal as a possibility independent of promotion (i.e spontaneous removal, including demotion without deletion) do we have an explanation for the similarities, down to morphological identity in many cases, between personal and impersonal passives in various languages."

It is a well–known fact that the personal passives are later developments in Dravidian languages. It is evident from their non-availability in non-literary or spoken languages and very rare usage in actual discourse. Tulu language has no personal passives at all but has only impersonal passives, because it was a non-literary language till recently. But Kannada has both the usages. From this fact it can be speculated that spoken languages like Tulu (may be other Dravidian spoken languages also) use impersonal passive as a naturalness of usage in which the agent or the logical subject is understood by the context.

The confusion arises because of apparent identity of Tulu sentence structures. The sentences like :

28. duḍḍu buḷepuṇu 'Money grows.'
29. duḍḍu koḷpuṇu 'Money will be given.'

30. ba:lE duḍḍu koḷpuṇu 'Child gives money.'
31. petta boḷipuṇu 'Cow milks.'
32. ba:kilu geppuṇu 'The door opens.'

are all derived from different underlying structures as illustrated above in this paper. All these cannot be treated under a single structural description because they have different deep structures and have undergone varied transformations in their derivation, as seen earlier.

Once again coming to Bhat's argument, firstly, Comrie's, Sridhar's and my arguments will answer his objection 'Considering the sentence (6 a) as a passive construction, I think, is untenable.' Secondly, his suggestion to consider the sentence (6 b) as a passive or pseudo-passive is hardly tenable because mere becoming subject is not a criterion of passivization. Moreover, *petta* 'cow' is not an object in the underlying structure. Lastly, the sentence (6 a) cannot be considered parallel to the construction *koḍuvuda:yitu* 'the giving is over.' The latter refers to an event or process of an action and the former to the state of the object. Moreover, even in the impersonal passive the verb will be in infinitive form as in the case of personal or so-called regular passive constructions in Kannada. Therefore, the sentence (6 a) and the said one just above cannot be equated and they are entirely different syntactically and semantically in many respects which we need not drag too much here.

5. In this paper, concord, tense, etc., are ignored as they are not directly relevant to our main argument. And there may be many more facts to come to light during further explorations; hence I keep the issue open for further investigations.

COLOPHON

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NEGATION IN TULU

K. V. Jalajakshi
Tumkur

1. In Tuḷu negation is expressed by adding either bound or free negative forms to the verb roots or verb stems. There are nine bound and six free negative forms in Tuḷu. They are :

bound forms : ir, uri, iddi, ay, a, aḍ–a, aḍ–e, ant–e, ant–i.

free forms : iddi, attɯ, balli, a:vanɯ, ti:ranɯ, bo:tri.

1.1. Negation in the past.

In Tuḷu two kinds of past tense formation are found, i.e. immediate past and distant past. Depending upon the different suffixes they take to form the immediate and distant past stems, Tuḷu verbs are divided into four groups.

	Immediate	*Distant*
i)	–t–	–tɯd–
	e.g. kal–t–E	kal–tɯd–E
	'I did (imm) learn.'	'I did (dist) learn.'
ii)	–y–	–t–
	e.g. par–y–E	par–t–E
	'I did (imm) drink'	'I did (dist) drink.'
iii)	–y–	–d–
	e.g. pa:r–y–E	pa:r–d–E
	'I did (imm) run.'	'I did (dist) run.'

iv) All the remaining verbs which do not fit into the above three groups are put in this group.

	–ḍ–	–t–
e.g.	paɳ–ḍ–E	paɳ–t–E
	'I did (imm) tell.'	'I did (dist) tell.'

Negation in the past can be expressed by two ways :

i) by adding negative marker – ri to the distant past stem.

ii) by adding negative marker – iddi to both immediate and distant adjectival participial forms.

i) **Addition of the Negative marker – ri to the distant past stem :**

Negative marker – ri is not added to the immediate past stems. In the case of I person plural, II and III person singular and plural forms, once the negative markers are added to the verbs, the addition of personal endings becomes optional; in the case of the I person singular and III person neuter singular, after the addition of the negative marker personal endings are never added.

kal – 'to learn'

Affirmative	*Negative*
kal–tɯd–E	kal–tɯd–ri
'I did (dist) learn.'	'I did (dist) not learn.'
kal–tɯd–e	kal–tɯd–ri–(ye)
'He did (dist) learn.'	'He did (dist) not learn.'
kal–tɯd–aḷɯ	kal–tɯd–ri–(yaḷɯ)
'She did (dist) learn.'	'She did (dist) not learn.'
kal–tɯd–nɯ	kal–tɯd–ri
'It did (dist) learn.'	'It did (dist) not learn.'

ii) **Addition of the Negative marker –iddi to the immediate and distant past adjectival participial forms :**

Immediate and distant past adjectival participles will take the negative marker-iddi in order to give the negative meaning in the past. Initial vowel –i of the negative marker –iddi is lost when it is added to the past adjectival participial form of the verb. I person singular & III person neuter singular will not take the personal ending after the addition of negative marker –iddi. In the case of other persons it is optional.

For Example : **kal – 'to learn'**

Immediate	*Distant*
Underlying structure :	Underlying structure :
*kal–t–(i)na–iddi–(ye)	*kal–tɯd–(ɪ)na–iddi–(ye)
— kaltnaddi–(ye)	— kaltɯdnaddi–(ye)
'He did (imm) not learn.'	'He did (dist) not learn.'

(for details see the appendix)

But immediate past stems belonging to the group (ii) and (iii) (see 1.1) will lose their immediate past marker–y– before the addition of past adjectival participle marker –(i)na– and the negative marker – iddi. Personal endings are optional in this construction.

For Example : **par** – 'to drink'

Immediate	*Distant*
Underlying structure :	Underlying structure :
*par–y–(i)na–iddi–(ye)	*par–t–(i)na–iddi–(ye)
— *par–Ø–(i)na–idd–(ye)	*par–t–(i)na–iddi–ye)
— parnaddi–(ye)	— partnaddi–(ye)
'He did (imm) not drink.'	'He did (dist) not drink.'

(for details see the appendix)

1.1.1. **Negative Subjunctive :**

Negative subjunctive has the following structure :
verb base + distant past suffix + future marker (probability) + negative marker + personal ending.

It is to be noted here that only distant past stem is used along with the future (probability) and negative markers –ay– and –a– to derive the negative subjunctive. Personal endings are obligatory in this construction.

Affirmative	*Negative*
kal–tɯd–v–e	kal–tɯd–v–ay–e
'He would have learnt.'	'He would not have learnt.'
kal–tɯd–v–aɭɯ	kal–tɯd–v–ay–aɭɯ
'She would have learnt.'	'She would not have learnt.'
kal–tɯd–u	kal–tɯd–v–anɯ
'It would have learnt.'	'It would not have learnt.'

(for details see the appendix)

1.2. **Negation in the present.**

Negative marker-iddi is added to the present continuous form of the verb in order to give the negative meaning in the present tense. Personal endings are optional after the negative marker.

Example :

Affirmative	*Negative*
po:v–ont–uḷḷE	po:v–ont–iddi
'I am going.'	'I am not going.'
po:v–ont–uḷḷa	po:v–ont–iddi–(ye)
'You are going.'	'You are not going.'
po:v–ont–uḷḷerɯ	po:v–ont–iddi–(yerɯ)
'They are going.'	'They are not going.'

(for details see the appendix)

1.3. Negation in the future.

Negation in the future is expressed by two ways :

i) **by adding the negative marker -uri to the future stem of the verb.**

ii) **by adding the negative marker -iddi to the future adjectival participial forms.**

i) By the addition of the negative -uri to the future stem of the verb, negative in the future can be obtained. Personal endings are optional after the negative marker in this construction.

Example :

Affirmative	*Negative*
po: -p- E	po: -p- uri
'I will go'	'I will not go.'
po: -p- e	po: -p- uri - (ye)
'He will go.'	'He will not go.'
po: -p- aḷɯ	po: -p- uri - (yaḷɯ)
'She will go.'	'She will not go.'
po: -p- uṇu	po: -p- uri
'It will go.'	'It will not go.'
po: -p- erɯ	po: -p- uri - (yerɯ)
'They will go.'	'They will not go.'

ii) The addition of the negative marker -iddi to the future adjectival participial form gives the negative meaning in the future. Initial vowel of the negative marker -iddi is lost when it is added to the future participial form. After the negative markers personal endings are optional.

Example :

Affirmative	*Negative*
*po: -p- uṇu → po:puṇu	*po: -p- uṇu -iddi → po:puṇaddi
'It will go'	'It will not go.'
*po: -p- aḷɯ → po:paḷɯ	*po: -p-uṇu -iddi- (yaḷɯ) → po:puṇaddiyaḷɯ
'She will go.'	'She will not go'.

(for details see the appendix)

1.4. Negative Adverbial Participle

Negative marker ant-e should be added to the verb root in order to get the negative adverbial participle; in this -ant- is the negative marker and -e is the adverbial marker.

Example :

koḷ –ant– e	'not having given'
uṇ –ant– e	'not having eaten'
bar –ant– a	'not having come'
po:v–ant– e	'not having gone'

1.5. Negative Adjectival Participle.

It is formed by adding –ant– i (na) to the verb root, where –ant is the negative marker and –i or –i(na) is the adjectival marker.

Example :

koḷ –ant– i (na)	'which (who) is not given'
paṇ –ant– i (na)	'which (who) is not said'
po:v –ant– i (na)	'which (who) is not gone'
par –ant– i (na)	'which (who) is not drunk'

1.5.1. Negative Participial Nouns.

When the III person pronominal terminations are added to the negative adjectival participial forms the negative participial nouns are obtained.

Example :

paṇ –ant– ina –a:ye → paṇantina:ye
'He who does not tell.'

paṇ –ant ina –a:ɭɯ → paṇantina:ɭɯ
'She who does not tell.'

paṇ –ant– ina –akuḷu → paṇantinakuḷu
'They who do not tell.'

paṇ –ant– ina –avu → paṇantinavu
'It which does not tell.'

1.6. Negative Imperative (Prohibitive) Constructions.

Negative suffixes aḍ–a (Sg) and aḍ–e (Pl.) are used only in the imperative singular and plural constructions respectively. For example,

(Sg.) po:vaḍa 'Don't go' (Pl.) po:vaḍe 'Don't go'

The derivation of such constructions may be from the structure po: + be:ḍa → po: + e:ḍa → po: + aḍa → po:vaḍa. This hypothesis that the form –aḍ– –aḍ– from be:ḍa is supportable because the loss of initial 'b–' in such contractions is not uncommon in Tuḷu. For example,

po: + bo:ḍu	→ po:voḍu	'..... have to go'
po: + bo:tri	→ po:votri	'..... don't go', etc.

Example :

	Affirmative (Sg.)	*Negative* (Sg)	*Affirmative* (Pl.)	*Negative* (Pl.)
ampu– 'to do'	ampu– /la	amp –aḍ –a	amp– le	amp –aḍ –e
koḷu– 'to give'	koḷu– /la	koḷ –aḍ –a	koḷ- le	koḷ –aḍ –e
tinɯ– 'to eat'	tinɯ– /la	tin –aḍ –a	tin– le	tin –aḍ –e

1.7. Negative Probability

Negative suffixes are –a– and –ay– which are used here to give the sense of negative probability (i.e. may not). Negative form –a– occurs before III person neuter singular suffix –nɯ and after the verb root; –ay– occurs before all the other pronominal terminations which begin with a vowel and after the verb root. Including I person singular and III neuter singular personal endings are obligatory in this construction.

Affirmative		*Negative*	
koḷ –v– E	'I may give'.	koḷ –ay–E	'I may not give.'
koḷ –v– a	'You may give.'	koḷ –ay– a	'You may not give.'
koḷ –v– e	'He may give.'	koḷ –ay– e	'He may not give.'
koḷ –v– aḷɯ	'She may give.'	koḷ –ay– aḷɯ	'She may not give.'
koḷ –u	'It may give.'	koḷ –a– nɯ	'It may not give.'
koḷ –v– erɯ	'They may give.'	koḷ –ay– erɯ	'They may not give.'

Since Dravidian Languages do not allow vowel clusters, the –y– in the negative suffix –ay– may be a glide in origin, because it occurs only before the suffixes beginning with a vowel. The other negative form –a– occurring before a suffix beginning with a consonant n(–nɯ) also supports this hypothesis.

An interesting point to be noted here is that the negative marker occurring in the place of tense marker is a peculiar phenomenon of Tuḷu among South Dravidian languages; in this nature, it resembles the languages of the other two sub-groups of Dravidian i.e. Central and North Dravidian languages (for details, see Subrahmanyam 1970).

1.8. Free Forms.

1.8.1. The form iddi (equivalent to Ta. illai, Ka. illa) negates the existence of a thing when it is used as a free form. It has got two variants, i.e. (itt) –ri in the past and (ipp) –uri in the future.

Underlying structures:
Past: *ir -t- ɾi → itri
Present continuous: *ir -ont- ri ∞ iddi → * irontri → * irdri → * idri → iddi
Future: ir -p- uri → ippuri

By looking at these three different forms (i.e. itt-ri, iddi, and ipp-uri) in three different tenses it appears, even though *iddi* seems to be equal to Ta. illai and Ka. illa, it is not from the same root *il- ; but it may be from the root *ir 'to be' which is negated by the addition of the negative marker -ri. Unlike in the other languages Tuḷu has personal endings optionally even after the negative free form *iddi* and its variants. But I person singular and III person neuter singular will not take the personal endings after the addition of the negative free form *iddi.*

Present Tense

Example :	a:ye illoḷu iddi-(ye)	'He is not at home.'
	a:ḷɯ illoḷu iddi-(yaḷɯ)	'She is not at home.'
	avu illoḷu iddi	'It is not at home.'
	akuḷu illoḷu iddi-(yerɯ)	'They are not at home.'
	aykuḷu illoḷu iddi-(yo)	'Those are not at home.'

Past Tense

Example :	a:y illoḷu itt-ri-(ye)	'He was not at home.'
	a:ḷɯ illoḷu itt-ri-(yaḷɯ)	'She was not at home.'
	avu illoḷu itt-ri	'It was not at home'.
	akuḷu illoḷu itt-ri-(yerɯ)	'They were not at home.'
	aykuḷu illoḷu itt-ri-(yo)	'Those were not at home.'

Future Tense

Example :	e:nɯ illoḷu ippuri	'I will not be at home.'
	a:ye illoḷu ipp-uri-(ye)	'He will not be at home.'
	a:ḷɯ illoḷu ipp-uri-(yaḷɯ)	'She will not be at home.'
	avu illoḷu ipp-uri	'It will not be at home.'
	akuḷu illoḷu ipp-uri-(yerɯ)	'They will not be at home.'
	aykuḷu illoḷu ipp-uri-(yo)	'Those will not be at home.'

1.8.2. **attɯ**

The form attɯ (Tam. Ma. Ko. alla) negates the equation or identity of the subject and its predicate.

Example :	avu me:jɯ	'It is a table.'
	avu me:jɯ attɯ	'It is not a table.'
	aykuḷu me:juḷu	'Those are tables.'

aykuḷu me:juḷu attɯ 'Those are not tables.'
a:ye enna sne:hite 'He is my friend.'
a:ye ennao sne:hite attɯ 'He is not my friend.'
akuḷu enno sne:hiterɯ 'He (hon.) is my friend.'
akuḷu enno sne:hiterɯ attɯ 'He (hon.) is not my friend.'

1.8.3. **balli, a:vanɯ, ti:ranɯ**

The forms balli, a:vanɯ and ti:ranɯ too occur as main verbs as well as auxiliary verbs. They denote inability of a person when they are used as main verbs and occur with noun with dative or instrumental case markers. As auxiliary verbs they always occur with the infinitive form of the main verb and give the different shades of prohibition in their auxiliary usage. For Example:

Main verb usage	Auxiliary usage
{ ennattɯ / eṅkɯ } balli	e:nɯ po:vere balli
'It is not possible for me.'	'I should not go.'
avu { ennattɯ / aṅkɯ } a:vanɯ	i: po:vere a:vanɯ
'It is not possible for me.'	'You should not go.'
avu { innattɯ / iṅkɯ } ti:ranɯ	i: po:vere ti:ranɯ
'It is not possible for you '	'You must not go.'

Among the three verbs *ti:ranɯ* is the strong prohibitive auxiliary verb.

1.8.4. **bo:tri**

The form *bo:tri* means 'It is not necessary.' It can be derived as follows:

bo:ḍu 'wanted' + itri 'It was not wanted.' → bo:ḍitri 'It was not necessary.' (past) → bo:tri 'It is not necessary.' (Present)

bo:tri and *bōḍitri* are used in the same sense in different tenses namely, present and past respectively. Negative form –iddi is added to the past adjectival participial form bo:ḍitna – in order to give the negative meaning in the past.

i.e. (B) bo:ḍitna –iddi → bo:ḍitnaddi
(C) bo:ḍittina –ijji → bo:ḍittɯjji

Past Negative	*Present Negative*
bo:ḍitnaddi	bo:tnaddi
(B) bo:ḍitri	bo:tri
(C) bo:ḍittɯjji	bo:ḍci

Example :	*Present Negative*	*Past Negative*
Sg.	eṅkɯ ka:pi bo:tri	eṅkɯ ka:pi bo:ḍitri
	ᔕbo:tnaddiᔕbo:ḍci	ᔕbo:ḍittnaddi ᔕbo:ḍittɯjji
	'Coffee is not necessary for me.'	'Coffee was not necessary for me.'
Pl.		
	eṅkḷegɯ k:api bo:tri	eṅkḷegɯ ka:pi bo:ḍitri
	ᔕbo:tnaddi ᔕ bo:ḍci	ᔕbo:ḍitnaddi ᔕ bōḍittɯjji
	'Coffee is not necessary for us.'	'Coffee was not necessary for us.'

Like all the other free forms *bo:tri* is also used as a main verb as well as an auxiliary verb. As we have already seen as a main verb it gives the meaning 'not necessary', and as an auxiliary it prohibits the action and gives the prohibitive meaning.

Example :

As a main verb	As an auxiliary verb
iṅkɯ ka:pi (B) bo:tri/bo:tnaddi/ (C) bo:ḍci	i: ka:pi parotri
	parotri < *par + bo:tri
'You do not need coffee.'	'You must not drink coffee.'
eṅkḷegɯ aśana bo:tri	iṅkḷu aśana ampotri
	ampotri < *amp + bo:tri
'We do not need meal.'	'You (hon.) must not eat.'

APPENDIX

Negation in the Past

Structure : verb base + distant past marker + negative marker + (Personal endings)

kal – 'to learn'

1.1.

(i)	*Affirmative*	*Negative*
I Person Sg.	kal–tɯd–E	kal–tɯd–ri
	'I did (dist) learn.'	'I did (dist) not learn.'
Pl.	kal–tɯd–o	kal–tid–ri–(yo)
	'We did (dist) learn.'	'We did (dist) not learn.'
II Person Sg.	kal–tɯd–a	kal–tɯd–ri–(ya)
	'You did (dist) learn.'	'You did (dist) not learn.'
Pl.	kal–tɯd–arɯ	kal–tɯd–ri–(yarɯ)
	'You (hon.) did (dist) learn.'	'You (hon.) did (dist) not learn.'

III Person

	M. Sg.	kal-tɯd-e 'He did (dist) learn.'	kal-tɯd-ri-(ye) 'He did (dist) not learn.'
	F. Sg.	kal-tɯd-alɯ 'She did (dist) learn.'	kal-tɯd-ri-(yalɯ) 'She did (dist) not learn.'
	Neut. Sg.	kal-tɯd-nɯ 'It did (dist) learn.'	kal-tɯd-ri 'It did (dist) not learn.'
	Hum. Pl.	kal-tɯd-erɯ 'They did (dist) learn.'	kal-tɯd-ri-(yerɯ) 'They did (dist) not learn.'
	Neut. Pl.	kal-tɯd-o 'They did (dist) learn.'	kal-tɯd-ri-(yo) 'They did (dist) not learn.'

par – 'to drink'

ii)

I	Sg.	par-t-E 'I did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri 'I did (dist) not drink.'
	Pl.	par-t-o 'We did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(yo) 'We did (dist) not drink.'
II	Sg.	par-t-a 'You did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(ya) 'You did (dist) not drink.'
	Pl.	par-t-arɯ 'You (hon.) did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) did (dist) not drink.'
III	M. Sg.	par-t-e 'He did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(ye) 'He did (dist) not drink.'
	F. Sg.	par-t-aɻɯ 'She did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(yaɻɯ) 'She did (dist) not drink.'
	Neut Sg.	par-t-nɯ 'It did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri 'It did (dist) not drink.'
	Hum. Pl.	par-t-erɯ 'They did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(yerɯ) 'They did (dist) not drink.'
	Neut. Pl.	par-t-o 'They did (dist) drink.'	par-t-ri-(yo) 'They did (dist.) not drink.'

ii) pa:r – 'to run'

I	Sg.	pa:r-d-E 'I did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri 'I did (dist) not run.'
	Pl.	pa:r-d-e 'We did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(yo) 'We did (dist) not run.'

II	Sg.	pa:r-d-a 'You did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(ya) 'You did (dist) not run.'
	Pl.	pa:r-d-arɯ 'You (hon.) did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) did (dist) not run.'
III	M. Sg.	pa:r-d-e 'He did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(ye) 'He did (dist) not run.'
	F. Sg.	pa:r-d-aɭɯ 'She did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(yaɭɯ) 'She did (dist) not run.'
Neut.	Sg.	pa:r-d-nɯ 'It did (dist) run '	pa:r-d-ri 'It did (dist) not run.'
Hum.	Pl.	pa:r-d-erɯ 'They did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(yerɯ) 'They did (dist) not run.'
Neut.	Pl.	pa:r-d-o 'Those did (dist) run.'	pa:r-d-ri-(yo) 'Those did (dist) not run.'

ba - 'to come'

iv)

I	Sg.	ba-ttɯd-E 'I did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd ri 'I did (dist) not come.'
	Pl.	ba-ttɯd-o 'We did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri (yo) 'We did (dist) not come.'
II	Sg.	ba-ttɯd-a 'You did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri-(ya) 'You did (dist) not come.'
	Pl.	ba-ttɯd-arɯ 'You (hon.) did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri-(yarɯ) 'Yon (hon.) did (dist) not come.'
III	M. Sg.	ba-ttɯd-e 'He did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri-(ye) 'He did (dist) not come.'
	F. Sg.	ba-ttɯd-aɭɯ 'She did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri-(yaɭɯ) 'She did (dist) not come.'
Neut.	Sg.	ba-ttɯd-nɯ 'It did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri 'It did (dist) not come.'
Hum.	Pl.	ba-ttɯd-erɯ 'They did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri-(yerɯ) 'They did (dist) not come.'
Neut.	Pl.	ba-ttɯd-o 'Those did (dist) come.'	ba-ttɯd-ri-(yo) 'Those did (dist) not come.'

Negation by adding – iddi

kal – 'to learn'

			Immediate	*Distant*
1.1				
I		Sg.	kal–t–naddi 'I did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi 'I did (dist) not learn.'
		Pl.	kal–t–naddi–(yo) 'We did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(yo) 'We did (dist) not learn.'
II		Sg.	kal–t–naddi–(ya) 'You did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(ya) 'You did (dist) not learn.
		Pl.	kal–t–naddi–(yari) 'You (hon.) did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) did (dist) not learn.'
III	M.	Sg.	kal–t–naddi–(ye) 'He did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(ye) 'He did (dist) not learn.'
	F.	Sg.	kal–t–naddi–(yaḷɯ) 'She did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(yaḷɯ) 'She did (dist) not learn.'
	Neut.	Sg.	kal–t–naddi 'It did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi 'It did (dist) not learn.'
	Hum.	Pl.	kal–t–naddi–(yerɯ) 'They did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(yerɯ) 'They did (dist) not learn.'
	Neut.	Pl.	kal–t–naddi–(yo) 'Those did (imm) not learn.'	kal–tɯd–naddi–(yo) 'Those did (dist) not learn.'

In this case, Verbs of the Class (II) and (III) will undergo the same Morphophonemic rule (i. e. y → ɸ/– negative marker).

par – 'to drink'

I		Sg.	par–ɸ–naddi 'I did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi 'I did (dist) not drink.'
		Pl.	par–ɸ–naddi–(yo) 'We did (imm) not drink'	par–t–naddi–(yo) 'We did (dist) not drink.'

II	Sg.	par–ϕ–naddi–(ya) 'You did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi–(ya) 'You did (dist) not drink.'
	Pl.	par–ϕ–naddi–(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi–(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) did (dist) not drink.'
III	M. Sg.	par–ϕ–naddi–(ye) 'He did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi–(ye) 'He did (dist) not drink.'
	F. Sg.	par–ϕ–naddi–(yaḷɯ) 'She did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi–(yaḷɯ) 'She did (dist) not drink.'
	Neut. Sg.	par–ϕ–naddi– 'It did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi 'It did (dist) not drink.'
	Hum. Pl.	par–ϕ–naddi–(yerɯ) 'They did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi–(yerɯ) 'They did (dist) not drink.'
	Neut. Pl.	par–ϕ–naddi–(yo) 'Those did (imm) not drink.'	par–t–naddi–(yo) 'Those did (dist) not drink.'

1.1.1. **Negative Subjunctive**

I	Sg.	kal–tɯd–v–E 'I would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–ay–E 'I would not have learnt.'
	Pl.	kal–tɯd–v–o 'We would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–ay–o 'We would not have learnt.'
II	Sg.	kal–tɯd–v–a 'You would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–ay–a 'You would not have learnt.'
	Pl.	kal–tɯd–v–arɯ 'You (hon.) would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–ay–arɯ 'You (hon.) would not have learnt.'
III			
	Hum. Sg. M	kal–tɯd–v–e 'He would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–ay–e 'He would not have learnt.'
	F.	kal–tɯd–v–aḷɯ 'She would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–ay–aḷɯ 'She would not have learnt.'
	Neut. Sg.	kal–tɯd–v 'It would have learnt.'	kal–tɯd–v–anɯ 'It would not have learnt.'

Hum	Pl.	kal-tɯd-v-erɯ 'They would have learnt.'	kal-tɯd-v-ay-erɯ 'They would not have learnt.'
Neut.	Pl.	kal-tɯd-v-o 'Those would have learnt.'	kal-tɯd-v-ay-o 'Those would not have learnt.'

Negation in the present.

po: – 'to go'

1.2

I	Sg.	po:v-ont-uḷlE 'I am going '	po:v-ont-iddi 'I am not going.'
	Pl.	po:v-ont-uḷlo 'We are going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(ye) 'We are not going.'
II	Sg.	po:v-ont-uḷla 'You are going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(ya) 'You are not going.'
	Pl.	po:v-ont-uḷlarɯ 'You (hon.) are going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) are not going.'
III			
Hum. M.	Sg.	po:v-ont-uḷle 'He is going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(ye) 'He is not going.'
F.	Sg.	po:v-ont-uḷlalɯ 'She is going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(yaḷɯ) 'She is not going.'
Neut.	Sg.	po:v-ont-uṇḍu 'It is going.'	po:v-ont-iddi 'It is not going.'
Hum.	Pl.	po:v-ont-uḷlerɯ 'They are going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(yerɯ) 'They are not going.'
Neut.	Pl.	po:v-ont-uḷlo 'Those are going.'	po:v-ont-iddi-(yo) 'Those are not going.'

1.3 Negation in future

(i) By adding the negative marker -uri- in the future stem :

po: – 'to go'

I	Sg.	po:p-E 'I will go.'	po:-p-uri 'I will not go.'
	Pl.	po:-p-o 'We will go.'	po:-p-uri-(yo) 'We will not go.'

II	Sg.	po:-p-a 'You will go.'	po:-p-uri-(ya) 'You will not go.'
	Pl.	po:-p-arɯ 'You (hon.) will go.'	po:-p-uri-(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) will not go.'
III			
Hum. M	Sg.	po:-p-e 'He will go.'	po:-p-uri-(ye) 'He will not go.'
F.	Sg.	po:-p-aɭɯ 'She will go.'	po:-p-uri-(yaɭɯ) 'She will not go.'
Neut.	Sg.	po:-p-uɳu 'It will go.'	po:-p-uri 'It will not go.'
Hum.	Pl.	po:-p-erɯ 'They will go.'	po:-p-uri-(yerɯ) 'They will not go.'
Neut.	Pl.	po:-p-o 'Those will go.'	po:-p-uri-(yo) 'Those will not go.'

ii) **By adding the negative marker –iddi- to the future adjectival participial form :**

kal – 'to learn'

I	Sg.	kal-puv-E 'I will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi 'I will not learn.'
	Pl.	kal-puv-o 'We will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(yo) 'We will not learn.'
II	Sg.	kal-puv-a 'You will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(ya) 'You will not learn.'
	Pl.	kal-puv-arɯ 'You (hon.) will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(yarɯ) 'You (hon.) will not learn.'
III			
Hum. M.	Sg.	kal-puv-e 'He will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(ye) 'He will not learn.'
F.	Sg.	kal-puv-aɭɯ 'She will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(yaɭɯ) 'She will not learn.'
Neut.	Sg.	kal-puɳu 'It will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi 'It will not learn.'
Hum.	Pl.	kal-puv-erɯ 'They will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(yerɯ) 'They will not learn.'
Neut.	Pl.	kal-puv-o 'Those will learn.'	kal-puɳa-iddi-(yo) 'Those will not learn.'

1.4 **Negative adverbial participle**

	Affirmative	*Negative*
(i)	kal–tɯ 'having learnt'	kalp–ante 'not having learnt.'
(ii)	par–tɯ 'having drunk'	par–ante 'not having drunk.'
(iii)	pa:r–tɯ 'having run'	pa:r–ante 'not having run.'
(iv)	paɳ–tɯ 'having said'	paɳ–ante 'not having said.'

1.5 **Negative adjectival participle**

(i)	kal–t–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) learnt.'	kalp–ant–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) not learnt.'
(ii)	par–t–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) drunk.'	par–ant–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) not drunk.'
(iii)	pa:r–ɖ–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) not run.'	pa:r–ant–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) not run.'
(iv)	paɳ–ɖ–i(na) 'which (who) is (has) said.'	paɳ–ant–i (na) 'which (who) is (has) not said.'

1.5.1. **Negative Participial Nouns :**

I	Sg.	kal–t–in(a)–a:ye 'I who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–a:ye 'I who did not learn.'	
	Pl.	kal–t–in (a)–akuɭu 'We who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–akuɭu 'We who did not learn.'	
II	Sg.	kal–t–in (a)–a:ye 'You who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–a:ye 'You who did not learn.'	
	Pl.	kal–t–in (a)–akuɭu 'You (hon.) who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–akuɭu 'You (hon.) who did not learn.'	
III				
Hum.	Sg. M	kal–t–in (a)–a:ye 'He who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–a:ye 'He who did not learn.'	
	F.	kal–t–in (a)–a:ɭɯ 'She who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–a:ɭɯ 'She who did not learn.'	
Neut.	Sg.	kal–t–in (a)–vu 'It who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–vu 'It who did not learn.'	
Hum.	Pl.	kal–t–in (a)–akuɭu 'They who did learn.'	kalp–ant–in (a)–akuɭu 'They who did not learn.'	
Neut.	Pl.	kal–t–in (a)–eykuɭu 'Those who did learn.'	kal–ant–in (a)–eykuɭu 'Those who did not learn.'	

1.6. **Negative Imperative (Prohibitive) construction :**

II (i)	Sg.	kalp–u/la '(you) learn'	kalp–aɖ–a '(you) don't learn.'

	Pl.	kalp–le '(You) (hon.) learn'	kalp–aḍ–e '(You) (hon.) don't learn.'
(ii)	Sg.	par–ɯ/la '(you) drink'	par–aḍ–a '(You) don't drink'
	Pl.	par–le '(You) (hon.) drink'	par–aḍ–e '(You) (hon.) don't drink'
(iii)	Sg.	pa:r–ɯ/la '(You) run'	pa:r–aḍ–a '(You) don't run'
	Pl.	pa:r–le '(You) (hon.) run'	pa:r–aḍ–e '(You) (hon.) don't run'

1.7 Negative Probability:

I	Sg.	kalp–v–E 'I may learn.'	kalp–ay–E 'I may not learn.'
	Pl.	kalp–v–o 'We may learn.'	kalp–ay–o 'We may not learn.'
II	Sg.	kalp–v–a 'You may learn.'	kalp–ay–a 'You may not learn.'
	Pl.	kalp–v–arɯ 'You (hon.) may learn.'	kalp–ay–arɯ 'You (hon.) may not learn.'
III			
Hum. Sg	M	kalp–v–e 'He may learn.'	kalp–ay–e 'He may not learn.'
	F.	kalp-v–aḷɯ 'She may learn.'	kalp–ay–aḷɯ 'She may not learn.'
Neut. Sg.		kalp–u 'It may learn.'	kalp–a–nɯ 'It may not learn.'
Hum. Pl.		kalp–(v)–erɯ 'They may learn.'	kalp–ay–erɯ 'They may not learn.'
Neut. Pl.		kalp–v–o 'Those may learn.'	kalp–ay–o 'Those may not learn.'

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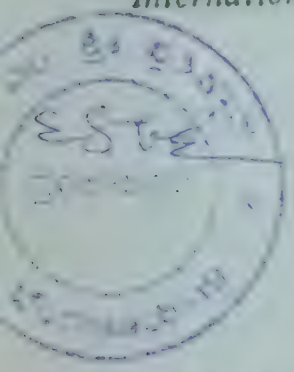
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LINGUISTIC STUDIES - TULU GRAMMAR

M. Rama
University of Kerala.

1. The aim of this paper is to provide a general survey of the linguistic studies on Tulu grammar and to comment on them.* Tulu is the mother tongue of 1,158,419 people (1971 census). It is a bazar language in south Kanara district of Karnataka State and a major part of Kasaragod Taluk of Kerala State.

Tulu was considered in earlier days as a dialect of Malayalam (cf. Caldwell 1956:32). Jules Bloch (1954:XXVI) has mentioned that Tulu shows obvious affinities with Kannada. Caldwell in his monumental work 'A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian' has refuted Ellis's opinion and claimed that Tulu is next to the four major cultivated South Indian languages : Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada Bh. Krishna Murthy (1958) is of the opinion that Tulu preserves features of Telugu and other central Dravidian languages. Emeneau (1967) suggests that further investigation on Tulu is an urgent need before arriving at definite conclusion (cf. Subrahmanyam 1968:47). However, Rama (1978) clearly shows that Tulu shares more cognate features with other four major South Indian languages.

It is true that Tulu has very little written literature but there are thorough competent grammars. Scholars feel that there might be a good number of literary works in Tulu also, like other neighbouring languages which are yet to be traced. For instance, a manuscript of 200 Palmyra leaves written in Tulu language 1695, by making use of the so-called Tulu script is traced in one of the

* I do not claim that all the articles on Tulu have been considered for the present study since some of them were really inaccessible to me. But I have tried to include as much information as possible.

Brahmins houses at Kasaragod. Other than this, no other old manuscript has been traced till date (Rama 1978). In 1834 the missionaries came to South Kanara and started to write Tulu in Kannada script. They translated the Bible and later wrote some biblical stories for school children.

In 1872 Rev. Brigel wrote the grammar of Tulu language. It is the first grammar of Tulu language written in Kannada script and the explanation is in English which gives a good descriptive account of phonology, morphology and syntactic peculiarities of the folk speech and it is the only available source on Tulu for reference to the students of linguistics. The next important work is Manner's Tulu-English Dictionary (1886), which however was started by Rev. Makkerer and completed by Rev. Manner, who also later published the English-Tulu Dictionary.[1]

After the missionary movement, the Tulu language suffered a setback and later a team of native scholars, with a sense of dedication, worked for the advancement of Tulu. Among them Paniyadi Shreenivasa Upachyaya of Udupi was the first scholar who wrote Tulu Vyaakarana (1932) in Kannada script.

Linguistic studies on Tulu grammar, either partial or full, began only after 1930. L.V. Ramaswamy Ayyar (1928, 1932a, 1932b, 1933, 1939, 1945) has made significant contributions to Tulu grammar. Though they are initial works on different aspects of Tulu grammar, they certainly provided insights for the later researchers. After 1960 a reasonable progress was visible in the field of Tulu linguistics with the appearance of full-fledged grammar or brief articles on Tulu (Bhat 1966, 1967, 1968; Bhatt 1971; Chechamma Isaac 1972; Mallika Devi 1974, 1976, 1978, 1979; Madtha 1971; Rama 1975, 1976, 1978; Rao 1966, 1968, 1976a, 1976b; Shetty 1976; Subrahmanyam 1968). Some of the works are very informative and the data are systematically analysed while some require further investigation and modification.

[1]As Tulu-English Dictionary contained a good number of Sanskrit and Kannada words Professor M Mariappa Bhat, made effort to re-edit it, by including as many native words as possible. With the help of Dr. A. Sankara Kedilaya he compiled this Dictionary based on the modern lexicographic principles and hence it is a significant contribution to Tulu studies. It was published in 1967 by Madras University. It is true that it is not exhaustive, yet it provides source material for the study of phonology and comparative Dravidian.

There are also other articles as well as books written in Kannada scripts. (T. G. Bhat 1962; Gowda 1979; Jalajakshi 1979; Nagarajayya 1966; Ramaswamy Ayyar 1945; Rao 1976, 1979; Sharma 1970). Some of these articles have been written following modern techniques of linguistic analysis and they provide insights to the historical and comparative study of languages. Some others have been written in the traditional prescriptive model.

2. The four major works available on Tulu grammar are discussed below.

1. Descriptive Analysis of Tulu

Bhat (1967) gives a detailed account of the phonology, morphophonemics, morphology and syntax of Tulu spoken in Udupi area. The Descriptive Analysis of Tulu (hereafter abbreviated as G_1) is the first linguistic description of this language based on modern techniques of analysis. Though the analysis presented is very compact, there are certain areas in which enough light has not been thrown. For instance, difference between affricate j and stop j is not indicated properly in the analysis. Again his statements such as "All the four fricatives are short and only the phoneme/s/ shows a contrastive length (treated as geminate) occurring in a very few utterances" (P. 12), are questionable because we notice length in the case of palatal fricative/ś/ as in duśśaasane 'P. N.' Further, his statement that the two high back short vowels get elided when followed by a morpheme beginning with a consonant is not true always as is evidenced by the following examples.

ɯ + v	aḷɯ + vE > aḷɯvE	'I will weep'	(p. 2)
ɯ + r	kerejɯ + dE > kerejɯdE	'I have serached	(p. 61)
u + r	balipu + rɯ > balipurɯ	'does not run'	(p. 63)
u + n	guru + na > guruna	'teacher's'	(p. 86)[2]

Though indeclinables have been mentioned in the classification of vocabulary as a separate class, no attempt has been made to analyse them. In general the analysis may be considered quite comprehensive as well as authentic.

2. A Grammar of Tulu (A Dravidian Language)

A Grammar of Tulu (hereafter abbreviated as G_2) by Bhatt (1971) is also based on the Brahmin Tulu of Udupi area. His aim is to provide a fairly complete grammar of Tulu including all the

[2]See for details Rama 1975

major dialects. He discusses in detail the grammar, the dialect variations and lexical features, besides providing sample illustrations such as time expressions, names of days and months, as well as directional, monetary and measurement expressions. Further, the following dialects have also been attested and compared: (1) Madhwa Brahmin Tulu (2) Siva Brahmin Tulu (3) Viswkarma Brahmin Tulu (4) Bants Tulu (5) Odari, Moili, etc., Tulu (6) Dikka, Koraga Tulu.

This work (G_2) is examined in contrast with G_1 and Rama (1978) in the following section.

Phonology: While in G_2 there are 7 vowels and 23 consonants, G_1, has 7 vowels and 24 consonants. G_1 shows three fricative phonemes, s, ṣ and ś. In G_2 there is no difference between retroflex ṣ and palatal ś. Retroflex s is the feature of Sanskrit. Since Brahmin dialect is very much influenced by Sanskrit we can very easily distinguish these two phonemes.

Eg :-	sariira	'body'
	aakaasa	'sky'
	santooṣa	'happiness
	aasleeṣa	'a star in the horoscope'

But in G_2 s and ṣ are treated as ṣ only.

Nasalisation :- Nasalisation is treated as phonemic in G_2 based on contrastive pairs of only interjections. He has tried to show the nasalisation with all the seven vowels. Since no other non-interjection contrastive pair is available the assumption on nasalisation as found in G_2 seems to be not valid. In G_1 only one nasalized vowel /a/ is treated.

Aspiration :- In view of economy and pattern congruity G_2 analyses the contrast in the aspirated vs. unaspirated stop as sequence of stop + h. But it is of interest to note that originally Tulu may not have aspirated sounds and this may be a later development owing to the influence of Sanskrit. Though we can notice a good number of aspirated words in Brahmin Tulu, getting minimal pairs may be difficult.

Eg :-	bhaaga	'share'
	phala	'fruit, result'
	khaḍga	'sword'
	madhaahna	'noon'
	kathe	'story'

All these are Sanskrit words found in the dialect.

Clusters :- In G_2 clusters are analysed and arranged elaborately. Yet there are obvious omissions in the analysis presented, notwithstanding the presence of such clusters in the data (p. 51).

Eg :- ay + tt 'from it'

Allophones :- G_2 does not present the allophonic distribution in dialects. The analysis would have been more useful for researchers if the allophonic distribution had also been attempted.

Canonical forms – Although the stems and roots are analysed on the basis of canonical forms they are not described in G_2.

Suprasegmental phonemes :- If we examine the examples available in G_2 to set up juncture as phonemic, there are examples which are not suitable for the purpose (p. 55).

Eg :-	i: pustake = koṇḍupo :	'take this book'
	i: = pustake koṇḍupo :	'you take this book'
	awlu + uṇḍu	'it is there'
	awluṇḍu	'it is there'

The last two examples do not show any meaning difference.

Morphology :

The noun stems are classified into three groups in G_2–a ending stems, light stems and heavy stems. The classification is systematic. But we notice some differences between G_1 and G_2. In G_1. (c) (c) VCV –a ending stems take –k–lu as plural marker and other bases ending in vowel –a take –onkḷu

Eg :	mara	marakḷu	'trees'
	krama	kramaklu	'customs'
	simma	simmoṅkuḷu	'lions'
	pustaka	pustakoṅkḷu	'books'

In G_2 all the –a ending stems take oṅkuḷu as plural marker.

Eg :	mara	maroṅkuḷu	'trees'
	krama	kramoṅkuḷu	'customs'
	simma	simmonkuḷu	'lions'
	petta	pettoṅkuḷu	'cows'

But in G_1 it is mentioned that the morpheme 'petta' is an exeeption.

Eg :	petta	pettoḷu	'cows

Thus it is felt in this respect both G_1 and G_2 need thorough checking and appropriate reformulation of statements or rules.

In G_1 first person pronoun inclusive plural and third person neuter singular are naavu and indu, whereas in G_2 they are nama and undu respectively.

Though obligatory/optional use of accusative case marker -nnu with human and non-human nouns respectively, is available in Brahmin Tulu also, as it is in non-Brahmin Tulu, no mention has been made in G_2 regarding this salient feature.

Eg : maaṇi pustakannu koṇḍate is possible as maaṇi pustaka koṇḍate 'a boy brought the book'
aaye goopaalannu uḷete is not possible as
aaye goopaala uḷete 'he called Gopala'

Though G_1 and G_2 describe the same dialect they attest two different sets of suffixes for Instrumental case, -ṭa, and -ḍa in G_1 and -ṇṭu, -tu and -du in G_2. G_1 and Rama (1978) confirm the same points that -ṭa and -ḍa are sociatives and not instrumental as contended in G_1. One can argue that G_1 may be correct if at the syntactic level human nouns can also take instrumental suffixes. However, this area it seems, requires further scrutiny. Furthermore, unconvincingly enough, G_2 avoids the use of the term ablative and locative, instead the term agentive and sociative are used.

The description of morphophonemics is not exhaustive. Some of the sandhi changes are not accounted for. Following examples are given in G_2 as exceptions in compounds for the stem final vowel dropping.

Eg :	mallE + ampuṇa	> mallEmpuṇa	'to make it big'
	mallE + aapuṇa	> mallEEpuṇa	'to become big'
	eddE + uṇḍu	> eddEṇḍu	'it is good'

Out of these examples we can frame two rules which are quite common in non-Brahmin Tulu

1. $V_1 + V_2 > V_1$

mallE + ampuṇa	> mallEmpuṇa	'to make it big'
eddE + uṇḍu	> eddEṇḍu	'it is good'

2. $V_1 + V_2V_3 > V_1V_1$

mallE + aapuṇa	> mallEEpuṇa	'to become big'

We also notice the following words which are not accounted for in morphophonemics in G_2 (189-190).

Eg :	awu + eeru	> awweeru	'Who is that'
	paṇu + tuula	> paṇussuula	'How dare you tell'

G_2 also states that some verbal stems ending in –tt become –s before the past tense marker (p. 152)

Eg :	patt-	'to catch'	pas–yE	'I caught'
	ott –	'to press'	os –yE	'I pressed'
	sutt–	'to wear'	sus–yE	'I wore'

The statement requires modification, because in G_1 it is stated that bases of the type (c)V ttɯ and (c) V tt u become (c) VSI in past and (c)V Sɯ and (c) VSU in perfect respectively.

Eg:–	pattɯ	pasiyE	past
		pasɯdE	perfect
	uttɯ	usiyE	past
		usɯdE	perfect

Further, G_1 gives a restriction that the word *suttu 'to wear' will not change in this environment. But in G_2 this word also is admitted for change.

Syntax:

In syntax G_2 attempts to put the facts through certain rules. In fact, this section provides a clear picture of Tulu sentences.

1. G_2 provides the rules as $X + Y \ (\rightarrow) \ Y + X$

 Eg: aaye batte batte aaye 'he came'

Structurally both the forms are possible. But semantically the $Y + X$ conveys the meanings: (1) 'he came' (2) 'again he came.' The second meaning will be more frequent with respect to the rule $Y + X$. This rule requires some explanation.

2. Rule 3.22.2 provides reduplication

$$X \ (\rightarrow) \ \left\{ \begin{matrix} X + X \\ X + X_1 \end{matrix} \right\}$$

where X = NP, VP and X_1 = a form class of X

Eg: aaye batte (he came – rec. pt. – he)

(→) aaye aaye baate

(→) aaye batte batte

I doubt, whether repeating the NP or VP as shown above may serve the purpose of reduplication construction.

3. G_2 provides a rule X (→) X–PLS (p. 172) where X = sentence NP, VP, Adj, Adv and PLS = phrase–level–suffix

Eg :	aaye batte	'he came'
	aaye battena	'did he come'
	aaye–na: batte	'is it he who came'
	aaye koodE–na: batte	'Is it yesterday that he came'

Among the above four sentences the last two are not very common.

Mostly this type of interrogative construction will be as follows :

Eg : aaye koodE battena: or VP + Intr.
aaye koodE–na: battuuna ?
'Is it yesterday that he came'
Intr. VP + Infin

Thus this type of distribution also should be accounted for.

G_2 also provides explanation for some ambiguous sentences (p. 186 R. 3. 421). It also mentions that the ambiguity can arise from dropping of inflectional suffixes as in :

Eg : naayi keri pili 'the tiger which the dog killed'
naayinuu keri pili 'the tiger which killed the dog'
aaye koḷi pustaka 'the book which he gave'
aayaguu koḷi pustaka 'the book which was given to him'

In the first two instances the constructions are :

N + Nom + V + VP + N
N + Acc + V + VP + N and the next two are
N + Nom + V + VP + N
N + Dat + V. VP

Since there are separate constructions, the question of ambiguity due to dropping of the inflectional suffixes is doubtful.

In general, the section on syntax is more elaborate and systematically analysed by making use of the modern techniques of transformational grammar.

3. Structural Description of Tulu

Structural Description of Tulu (Rama 1978) is the first linguistic description of non-Brahmin Tulu based on modern principles of Linguistics. This is the description of Tulu dialect of the Kulala (Kumbara) caste in Kasargod Taluk of the Kerala State and in the southern part of South Kanara district in Karnataka State. The area where the dialect is spoken is of particular interest since it presents a multilingual situation with Kannada, Tulu, Malayalam, Konkani and Marathi.

Word list and sample texts are appended to the dissertation so as to ensure scope for further research. The dissertation is expected to provide useful insights for further work on Tulu and also studies on language contact in the northern parts of Kerala State and Karnataka State respectively.

4. **The Structure of Tulu Verbs – A Transformational Analysis.**

The Structure of Tulu Verbs – A Transformational Analysis Mallika Devi (1979) is a description of the verb phrase constructions in Tulu within the framework of Transformational Generative Grammar.

The analysis in this thesis is based on the Tulu language spoken by Tulu settlers of Trivandrum. Madwa Brahmins of Udupi migrated to Kerala and settled there permanently. In Trivandrum alone there are more than three thousand Tulu speakers now.

It is hoped that this work ensures further scope for a comprehensive syntactic treatment of Tulu which is a dissideratum.

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TULU PLACE NAMES OF KASARAGOD TALUK

K. Subrahmanya Bhat
Govt. College, Kasaragod

Importance of place names:

Names which are given to particular places in order to identify them are commonly known as place names. These place names help us to get a clear knowledge of the past life of the people, their struggle, relations with nature, the nature of the language of their times, their migration, cultural events, etc. It is a law of nature that things change from time to time. But these changes are not the same at all places. If some changes seem to be total and complete, others are superficial or partial. Hence place names have remained fixed labels even today. Most of the place names belong to the latter class.

Importance of Kasaragod:

Kasaragod is the northern most taluk of the present Kerala State. Hoṣdurga taluk in the south, the Arabian sea in the west and the South Kanara district in the north and the east, are its boundaries. It is predominantly a mountainous area, and the land becomes elevated as we move towards the east. Small valleys, rivers and springs could be seen everywhere.

Historical Background:

The two districts of coastal Karnataka are known as North Kanara and South Kanara. The land lying between South Kanara especially from Kalyāṇpur and Chandragiri river has been referred to as Tuḷunaḍu in the Tamil poetic collection 'Aganāṉūṟu' composed at the beginning of the Christian era. In the Barkūr inscription (1316 A. D.) reference is made to Tulu cultural aspects of Bankidev of the Aḷūpa dynasty. The language, culture and the

life of the people–all support the same view. Since place names reveal the nature, language and the toponymy of respective places, they serve as sources of history. Most of the roots of these place names appear to be of Dravidian origin. Although they are Dravidian in origin, at present some of the old forms are found in Tuḷu only. In addition some forms are especially seen in Tuḷu language only, and they do not exist in any other Dravidian form.

There are about fifty villages in Kasaragod taluk. The place names here being various in nature, have originated from different forms of words. Instead of making a detailed study of the nature and peculiarities of these names, I have selected only a few important place names about which a brief descriptive study is attempted in this paper.

Adaka :

Adaka refers to a level ground which is not used for cultivation, but natural grass is found in the season. In some places small shrubs are also seen here and there. This word was originally found in Tuḷu only; by contact with the neighbour language it occurs in Kannada also. In Tuḷu it is Adakō, whereas in Kannada it is Adaka. Parallel to the places found in Karnataka, they are referred to as Hāḍi, Gudda, etc. Therefore it is clear that it is limited to Tuḷu speaking place only. This word is found independently as well as in combination either as preword or postword as the case may be; e.g. Independently: Adaka (only two places), Postword: Baḍiaḍka, Banḍaḍka, Paḷḷathadka, Preword: Adkathabail, Adkathotti, Adkaguttu.

There are some place names which are hydronamic or in connection with water. They are also ancient which are supposed to be Tulu in origin. Among these Mogaru, Turti, Uḷiya, Māṇe are the prominent forms taken for consideration.

Mogaru: The word means sandy soil. Most of the place names have originated from their connection with river banks, sea-shore, etc. Shetty (1969), referring to the word Mangalore, says that in Tuḷu Mogaru means a triangular place, river bank, or a delta. Ār, Āl suffixes are added to the above form, and hence the name Mogaral; or Mogalar – this derived into Magalōre and to the present word Mangalōre. The above description suits well to Mangalore, since it is situated on the river banks of Netravathi and Gurupura, which is commonly known as kuḍḷa, kuḍāla, kooḍala (kūdu + āl). Topographically the form is appropriate. Mogēre means Tuḷu fisherman, Mukva. Mogēr + il (= i.e.

place where number of houses of Mukva families are found.) Mogarāl > Mogrāl. This may be the phenomenon of the evolution of the word. It is commonly found that the residences of the Mukvas are found on the riverside. There are some places in which no house of Mukvas is situated. Most of the place names are given not from the habitation but from the topography. There are a few cases in which the place names are given from the habitation, and hence perhaps the doubt.

As in Adaka here also pre and post words usually show that they exist through the topography of the place. By all these evidences it becomes clear that the word Mogaral has come from the above said different topography of the place. e.g. Mogral Puttūr, Nari Mogaru, Kudla Mogaru, etc.

Ţurti: This means a pl.ce covered by water. The land formed in the river from the soil collected from the river flow is called Ţurti. Such places are only very few in number but the word is found independently.

Uḷiya: means a small river island, i.e. a place found in between two rivers, which is fertile. Some examples are Uḷiya, Uḷayathadka, Uḷakodi, etc.

As A. S. Silva says, "Eighty percent of the place names in Karnataka are originated from the toponymy of the place." In Sanskrit Scriptures also the same phenomenon is found, especially (i) Anūpadesha (ii) Jāngaladesha.

Anūpadesha is described as follows.

> Nānādrumalathā Vīruth Nirjarapranţa Sheelālaihi
> Vanaihi Vyaptam anūpamţaţ Sasaihi Vrīhiya Vādibhihi.
> (Cf. K. Bhat 1978 : 18)

This place is found in Tuḷunaḍ which suits the above description. But minor variations do exist, where the place names are given according to the particular toponymy of the place.

Māṇe: means an elevated hill area. Almost all the places deserve the meaning of the word. Manya: is the place nearer to Neerchal. Originally the form was Māṇe, changed into Māne → Maṇya → Mānya. Other examples like Māṇangāi, Māṇe, Māṇibettu, are supposed to be derived by the same method.

Pilikunje: is a place in Kasaragod town and is an elevated hilly area. Formerly it was a dense forest, which had wild animals like the tiger, lion, etc. At present we can see a Bhūta Sthāna of Pili-chamundi, which shows that there was the Bhūta with tiger as her

Vāhana. The Kunje in Tuḷu means the Hill. (Kunru in Tamil, Konda in Telugu, Kunda or Gudda in Kannada, Kunnee in Malayalam) and Pili is the tiger. Hence the name Pilikunje. So also is the case with Nellikunje, Bevinje, Baikunje, etc.

Kumeri: is the wasteland (usually hilly tract) cleared for cultivation where the trees are burnt and the soil is made for the cultivation. This word kumeri is usually independent, i.e. without pre or post word. In some cases the name is derived from persons; e.g. Ajjikumeri and in some cases it is from the vegetation; e.g. Bārekumeri.

Bāpalkumeri, Manḷalkumeri–these are also found. This needs a detailed study.

Banjathadka: means nearer to Badiadka. Because the toponymy is merely an 'Adaka', to identify the particular place the name is probably given. In Tuḷu 'Bāṇjar' means the cave in which tiger is found. It is said that the area was covered with dense forests in which wild animals, especially tigers were found. Hence the name Bāṇjar + tha + adaka → Bāṇjathadka. There is another place in Kasaragod taluk called 'Pilibāṇjara' in which tiger was occasionally found living. Similar is the case with Mepuna (cattle grazing) adaka = Mepunadka > Meponadka, and Bedī (bamboo growing) adaka → Beduradka.

There are some more place names which are combinations of Tulu language with other Dravidian languages; e.g. Tulu+Kannada–Kāyar+Gadde, Panji+Gadde, Tuḷu+Malayalam– Kundan Guli, Palekochi, etc.

Most of the place names of Kasaragod taluk are in connection with hydronamic place name suffixes, of which āl, ār are used for water, river, etc. This is originally Dravidian, because in Tamilnadu the names of the rivers end in 'ār' suffix. (Tamil is the only language in which majority of the Proto-Dravidian forms can be seen.) 'Ār', 'āl' are found as prefixes or suffixes– e.g. Ārur, Āryapu/Kunjar, Muliyar/Āladka, Ālambady/ārkudal, Perdala, etc. Another hydronamic place name suffix is beḷ or boḷ. The different forms in Dravidian languages are already explained (Cf. R. Bhat 1977). The following are some examples which are originated from beḷ; e.g. Beltur, Bolumbu, Bollipady, Bolinje, etc. Aje, Kaje come under the same category representing the land on the river sides (Marsh); e.g. Ajakōdu, Nekkaraje, Kukkaje, etc. The place names ending with the suffix 'il' are Tuḷu originated forms; e.g. Kedu+il

→ Kedila, Kukku+il → Kukkila, Karumbu+il → Karumbila, etc. (Cf. M. M. Bhat 1967)

On the whole when we look at the place names of Kasaragod, we can infer that they might have originated from Dravidian forms, though most of them are truly Tuḷu in origin.

Conclusion: It is difficult to come to a definite conclusion about the place names. Even though we cannot make out the meaning of individual place names, it is quite understandable when we get them in groups (categorical order). It becomes clear when we look at the toponymy, pre-existing and existing, and the people who inhabited the place and cultural influence on them.

Kasaragod taluk is a multi-lingual area. People belonging to Kannada, Tuḷu and Malayalam linguistic groups reside in a close-knit fashion. This must have caused some socio-linguistic changes in the area, and the study of this area from the socio-linguistic point of view is quite essential and interesting, though it may require a longer duration.

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INTERNAL AND POSTNOMINAL RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS TOPICS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE SENTENCES[1]

Sagar Mal Gupta
Alwar

There are three types of relative clauses in Hindi: these are internal (1a), postnominal (1b), and extranominal (1c)[2]:

(1) a. jo log janta: ko dhokha: dete
REL persons public OBJ cheating give-IMPERF
hãĩ wo jya:da: kama:te hãĩ
are they more earn-IMPERF are
'Persons who cheat the public earn more.'

b. wo laRki: jo ni:la: skarT pahne hai
that girl REL blue skirt wearing is
wo ja:pa:n as a:i: hai
she Japan from came is
'The girl who is wearing a blue shirt has just come from Japan.'

c. mujhe wo laRki: nahĩ ca:hiye jisko
I-OBJ that girl not want REL-OBJ
paise se itna: pya:r ho
money with so much love be
'I don't want the girl who loves money so much.'

[1]This paper is a revised version of chapter five of my dissertation entitled "Restrictive Relative Clauses in Hindi: A Topic Comment Analysis" submitted to the University of Hawaii in May 1981. I am thankful to Prof. Paul Gregory Lee, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii for his valuable comments on the earlier versions of this paper.

[2]See chapter 2, pp. 26-54 of my dissertation for a detailed description of the three types of relative clauses in Hindi.

It is proposed that there is correlation between the distribution of the three types of relative clauses and the functions they serve in terms of topic and comment. Our hypotheses are: (i) Internal and postnominal relative constructions are topics of their respective sentences. (ii) The extranominal relative clause is part of the comment. In this paper, we shall provide evidence for hypothesis (i), i.e. the internal and postnominal relative constructions are topics of their respective sentences.[3] If such evidence can be provided, then the functioning of the internal and postnominal relative clauses as topics would seem to follow from their distribution.

Before evidence is provided for the hypothesis (i) above, a word about topic and comment is in order. The topic is what the sentence is about. The topic is "given" in that its existence is assumed to be part of the general knowledge of the speaker and the hearer though not all given items are topics.[4]

The comment, on the other hand, represents new information in that it is the "application of a propositional act, predication vis-á-vis the topic" (Gundel 1978:2). In other words, the comment is what is being questioned, asserted, expressed desire, etc. about the topic. Often the elements of the comment are unactivated but activated elements can also be part of the comment. (See Chafe 1976; Gundel 1974, 1978; Kuno 1972, 1975, 1976 for further discussion of topic and comment.)

This paper consists of four sections. Section 1.1 provides word-order evidence for the hypothesis (i) mentioned above. 1.2 discusses specifically left dislocation evidence. A semantic argument in terms of coreferential anaphora constitutes the subject-matter of section 1.3. Section 1.4 presents conclusions.

1.1 Word-Order Evidence

The word-order evidence is based on general considerations concerning topics. Topics generally occur in initial position. Elements that tend to occur toward the beginning are more likely to be topics than elements that occur toward the end. Considered

[3]Evidence for hypothesis (ii) i.e. the extranominal relative clause is part of comment has been provided in great detail in chapter 6 of my dissertation.

[4]By given is meant any item whose referent is part of the shared information of the speaker and the listener.

from this point of view, internal and postnominal relative constructions occur toward the beginning of the sentence, and hence are more likely to be topics than the extranominal relative clause, which occurs toward the end of the sentence. The extranominal relative clause is more likely to be part of the comment.

Bolinger (1965 : 279) and Firbas (1971), among others have noted that background information tends to appear toward the beginning of sentences and new information toward the end. On the basis of this principle, it can be said that the extranominal relative clause would tend to be interpreted as new or asserted information whereas the internal and postnominal relative constructions would tend to be interpreted as old or presupposed information. Consider, for example, the following :

(2) a. jo ra:jni:tigy janta: se jhũ:The wa:yde
REL politicians public with false promises
kar–te hãĩ wo cuna:w ha:r ja:–te hãĩ
do–IMPERF are they election lose go–IMPERF are
'The politicians who make false promises to the people lose elections.'

b. wo ra:jni:tigy jo janta: se jhũ:The wa:yde
those politicians REL public with false promises
kar–te hãi wo cuna:w ha:r ja:–te hãĩ
do–IMPERF are they elections lose go–IMPERF are
'The politicians who make false promises to the people lose elections.'

c. wo ra:jni:tigy cuna:w ha:r ja:–te hãĩ jo janta:
those politicians election lose go-IMPERF are REL public
se jhũ:The wa:yde kar–te hãĩ
with false promises do–IMPERF are
'Those politicians lose elections who make false promises to people.'

In (2a and b), the internal and postnominal relative constructions are old information. They would be used in a situation where we are talking about those politicians who make false promises to the people. The extranominal clause in (2c) is part of new information. A piece of new information in (2c) is that those politicians make false promises to the people.

It will be worthwhile, I think, to quote Creider (1979:19) at this stage, concerning the relationship between topic and comment and word–order :

> We may summarize the current state of knowledge of the association of linear ordering and discourse factors across languages in terms of three major strategies, each correlated with a major syntactic type. Languages that treat initial position as topical and final position as focusing are SVO (English, Spanish, Czech, Russian). Languages that treat initial position as topical and preverbal position as focusing are verb final (Hungarian, Quechua). Finally, languages that treat initial position as focusing and final position as topical are verb initial (Nandi, Tagalog, Malagasy). These latter languages always have a means of reversing this order to produce sentences that have initial topics. This reversed order is found in discourse contexts where the topic is not known or predictable from the preceding discourse.

Considered from Creider's point of view, Hindi, an SOV language, will have topical information toward the beginning and focusing information toward the end. Since internal and postnominal relative constructions are toward the beginning, they are likely to be topical.

1.2 Left-Dislocation Evidence

The function of the left-dislocated NP is to state the topic of the following predicative sentence. If we can show that internal and postnominal constructions are left-dislocated NPs, then it would follow that they are topics. In order to show this, we have to demonstrate that there is an NP at the left of the main clause (it is immaterial here whether this is a plain NP or an NP dominating another NPS configuration), and that there is a pronominal copy of this NP in the main clause. If we examine internal and postnominal relative sentences, we notice that this is indeed the case. Consider (3a and b) below. In (3a), in internal relative sentence, the internal relative construction is a sentential NP to the left of the main clauses, *wo mera: bahnoi: hai* 'He is my brother-in-law', and *wo* 'he' is the pronominal copy of the internal relative construction in the main clause. Similarly, *wo* 'he' is the pronominal copy of the postnominal relative construction in (3b), which occurs to the left of the main clause, *wo mera: bahnoi: hai* 'He is my brother-in-law'.

(3) a. jo laRka: la:l su:T pahne hai wo mera:
REL boy red suit wearing is he I-GEN
bahnoi: hai
brother-in-law is
'The boy who is wearing a red suit is my brother-in-law.'

b. wo laRka: jo la:l su:T pahne hai wo
that boy REL red suit wearing is he
mera: bahnoi: hai
I-GEN brother-in-law is
'The boy who is wearing a red suit is my brother-in-law.'

However, a qualification is necessary. In some cases, it is not possible to have a pronominal copy in the main clause. In others, the pronominal copy is in free variation with zero anaphor. By the same token, an extranominal relative sentence cannot be regarded as a right-dislocated sentence because, unlike internal and postnominal relative sentences, there is no pronominal copy coreferential to the relative construction or her head, as shown by the grammaticality of (4a) and the ungrammaticality/reduced acceptability of (4b).[5] The notion of reduced acceptability includes reduced grammaticality as well as inappropriateness.

(4) a. wo laRka: jo ni:la: su:T pahne hai wo mera:
that boy REL blue suit wearing is he I-GEN
bha:i: hai
brother is
'That boy who is wearing a blue suit is my brother'.

b. *??wo mera: bha:i: hai jo laRka: ni:la:
he I-GEN brother is REL boy blue
su:T pahne hai
suit wearing is
'The boy is my brother who is wearing a blue suit.'

Thus, internal and postnominal relative constructions display characteristics of left-dislocated NPs. These same traits are not evident in extranominal relative sentences. Since a left-dislocated

[5]Extranominal relative sentences of the following sort are not counter-examples to the claim that there is no pronominal copy in the extranominal relative sentence in the main clause, because the generic noun *log* 'people' has been deleted after *wo* 'they'.

(i) ?wo mu:rkh hãĩ jo samay par apna: ka:m
they foolish are REL time LOC self's work
pu:ra: nahĩ: kar-te
complete not do-IMPERF
'They are foolish who do not finish their work on time.'

Secondly, for some speakers an internal relative sentence would be preferred over an extranominal sentence for use in such situations. This is shown by the question mark before sentence (i).

NP is the topic of its sentence, it follows that internal and postnominal relative constructions are topics of their respective sentences.

1.3 Semantic Evidence

The semantic evidence with respect to the three types of relative clauses has to do with coreferential anaphora situations. (Coreferential anaphor excludes indefinite NPs as anaphors.) If we accept the assumption that one of the functions of topic is to organize a number of sentences around a given subject and that, in order to do that, a topic has to be capable of being coreferential with the preceding NP; and if we find that internal and postnominal relative constructions can be coreferential with the preceding NP but that extranominal relative constructions or their heads cannot; then it would follow that extranominal relative constructions are not topics of the relative sentences. As there is no similar evidence against the claim that internal and postnominal relative constructions are topics, this is consistent with the hypothesis that the internal and postnominal relative constructions are topics of their respective sentences.

We will provide evidence for the premise that internal and postnominal relative constructions can be coreferential with the preceding NP but that the extranominal relative construction or head cannot. Consider (5a and b) below, which illustrate internal and postnominal relative constructions. The grammaticality of (5a and b) demonstrates that it is possible for internal and postnominal relative constructions to be coreferential with the preceding NP. The reduced acceptability (shown by the question mark) of (5c) shows that extranominal relative constructions cannot be coreferential with the preceding NP.

(5) us din ra:m ek carkhe par su:t ka:t
that day Ram a spinning-wheel LOC thread spin
raha: tha:
CONT was
'That day Ram was spinning thread on a spinning-wheel.'

a. aca:nak jis carkhe par wo su:t
suddenly REL spinning-wheel LOC he thread
ka:t raha: tha: wo ruk gaya:
spin CONT was that stop went
'Suddenly the spinning-wheel on which he was spinning thread stopped.'

b. aca:nak wo carkha: jis par wo su:t
suddenly that spinning-wheel REL LOC he thread
ka:t raha: tha: wo ruk gaya:
spin CONT was that stop went
'Suddenly the spinning-wheel on which he was spinning thread stopped.'

c. ?aca:nak wo carkha: ruk gaya: jis
suddenly that spinning-wheel stop went REL
par wo su:t ka:t raha: tha:
LOC he thread spin CONT was
'Suddenly that spinning-wheel stopped on which he was spinning thread.'

The reduced acceptability of (5c) is not due to the definite head NP in the extranominal relative clause. Although it is true that indefinite head NPs tend to occur in extranominal relative clauses, it is still possible to have a definite head NP, as shown by the grammaticality of (6). *wo laRka:* 'that boy' is a definite head NP in (6).

(6) wo laRka: pariksha: mẽ phel ho gaya: jo sa:re
that boy examination LOC fail be went REL all
sa:l masti: mar:ta: raha:
year enjoyment kill-IMPERF continued
'That boy flunked the exam. who enjoyed himself throughout the year.'

The other two situations where internal and postnomina relative constructions can be coreferential with the preceding NP will be termed "Metalinguistic Anaphoric Situation" and "Associative Anaphoric Situation", following Hawkins (1974).[6] Hawkins gives the following example to illustrate what he means by the metalinguistic use of anaphoric definite in English. Metalinguistic reference does not involve reference to the world but involves only reference to some element in the previous discourse. Consider (7), for example, where *the question* in the reply has 'reference to' the question, *What's the time?*

[6]Hawkins (1974), quoted in Tsao (1977), uses phrases such as "metalinguistic use of anaphoric definite" and "associative situation set". Hawkins proposes a "Location Theory of Definite Reference". I have used the modified versions of Hawkins's terms because they fall in line with what I want to say.

(7) "What's the time ?" asked Bill.
John did't answer *the question.*

If we look at the metalinguistic anaphoric situation vis-à vis the use of the three types of relative clauses, we find that internal and postnominal relative constructions can be coreferential with the preceding NP but the extranominal relative clause connot. Consider (8) below. (8c), which is an extranominal clause, is unacceptable in answer to the question posed in (8). Internal and postnominal relative constructions represented by (8a and b) are all right in response to the question in (8).

(8) "tum agla: ciTar kab la: rahe ho?" mãi–ne pu:cha:
you next chapter Q bring CONT ara I–ERG asked
'"When are you bringing the next chapter?" I asked.'

a. jo prashn mãi–ne pu:cha: us–Ra: jawa:b
REL question I–ERG asked that–GEN answer
us–ne nahĩ: diya:
he–ERG not gave
'He didn't answer the question that I asked.'

b. wo prashn jo mãi–ne pu:cha: us–ka:
that question REL I–ERG asked that–GEN
jawa:b us–ne nahĩ: diya:
answer he–ERG not gave
'He didn't answer the question that I asked.'

c. ??us–ka: jawa:b us–ne nahĩ: diya: jo prashn
that–GEN answer he–ERG not gave REL question
mãi–ne pu:cha:
I–ERG asked
'He didn't answer the question I asked.'

An associative anaphoric situation is, according to Hawkins (1974), an extension of an anaphoric situation through certain "knowledge associations." For example, if someone has mentioned a book, then he can refer to its writer by uttering (9).

(9) lekhak bahut lokapriy hai
writer very popular is
'The writer is very popular.'

If we consider the use of the three types of relative clauses in associative anaphoric situations, we discover that internal and postnominal relative construction can be coreferential with the preceding NP but that the extranominal cannot. Consider (10a and b) below, where the use of internal and postnominal relative constructions is felicitous in an associative anaphoric situation but the

use of an extranominal relative clause is wrong, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (10c).

(10) mãi kal ek maka:n dekhne gaya:
I yesterday a house to see went
'Yesterday I went to see a house.'

a. us-mẽ jo ba:thru:m hai wo bahut accha: hai
that-LOC REL bathroom is that very good is
'The bathroom in it is very good.'

b. us-mẽ ba:thru:m jo hai bahut accha: hai
that-LOC bathroom REL is very good is
'The bathroom in it is very good.'

c. *ba:thru:m bahut accha: hai us-mẽ jo hai
bathroom very good is that-LOC REL is
'The bathroom in it is very good.'

It is thus possible for the internal and postnominal relative constructions to be coreferential with the preceding NP, but it is not possible for an extranominal relative clause to be coreferential with it. Since one of the functions of the topic is to be coreferential with the preceding NP, the extranominal relative clause cannot be the topic of its sentence. In the absence of any contrary evidence to this effect for internal and postnominal relative constructions, we can reasonably maintain the conclusion that they are topics.

1.4 Conclusions

In this paper, evidence was provided to support the hypothesis that the internal and postnominal relative constructions function as topics in Hindi. This included word-order evidence, left-dislocation evidence, and semantic evidence. Word-order evidence discussed general principles of the organization of discourse elements in languages of the world. On the basis of the principle that topical elements occur toward the beginning of the sentence, it was argued that, since internal and postnominal relative constructions occur toward the beginning of the sentence, they may be construed as topics. Left-dislocation evidence demonstrated that internal and postnominal relative constructions have a pronominal copy, like left-dislocated NPs, in the main clause. Since left-dislocated NPs are topics, internal and postnominal relative constructions are topics as well. The semantic evidence involved coreferential anaphora. Only internal and postnominal relative constructions can be coreferential with the preceding NPs in anaphoric situations, but the extranominal relative clause cannot.

This showed that extranominal relative clauses are not topics. Since there is no such evidence against internal and postnominal relative constructions being topics, one can reasonably conclude that they are topics:

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HISTORICAL APPROACH OF THE CA:RIYAI [tt] IN TAMIL

N. Ramaswami
CIIL, Mysore

The ca:riyai in Tamil is considered to be an empty unit which does not have any meaning of its own. Even the earliest Tamil grammar, Tolkappiyam did not give any meaning for the various ca:riyais. "According to Caldwell, the ca:riyais may be old final suffixes of words retained only in the forms occurring in the compounds; or they are old case signs" (T. P. Meenakshisundaram 1965:78). So, the notion that the ca:riyai does not have any meaning of its own is applicable to the synchronic study but it does not hold good for the historical study. The ca:riyai [tt] comes after the nouns which end in [am]. Annamalai (1975), and Schiffman (1975) posit the ca:riyai [tt] after the nouns which end in [ṭ] and [ṭ] also apart from the nouns which end in [am] to derive the inflected forms such as a:ṭṭukku "to the river" and ma:ṭṭukku 'to the cattle' and the derivations are as these:

a.	a:ṭ+tt+ukku	'to the river'
	a:ṭ+ṭṭ+ukku	(assimilation)
	a:ṭṭ+ukku	(cluster–reduction)
	a:ṭṭukku	
b.	ma:ṭ+tt+ukku	'to the cattle'
	ma:ṭ+ṭṭ+ukku	(assimilation)
	ma:ṭṭ+ukku	(cluster-reduction)
	ma:ṭṭukku	
c.	maram+tt+ukku	'to the tree'
	mara+tt+ukku	(cluster-reduction)
	marattukku	

The insertion of the ca:riyai [tt] after [am] ending words may hold good historically because [NPP] change into [PP] in Tamil.

(Kumaraswami Raja 1973). But inserting the same suffix [tt] to the words which end in [ṯ] or [ṭ] does not have any evidence either historically or synchronically. There are clusters of three plosives in certain derivations of the process of assimilations such as ke:ṯ+tt+a:n→ke:ṭ+ṭṭ+a:n (Kumaraswami Raja 1978). But there are no words with three plosives in the same morpheme in Tamil either historically or synchronically. So positing [tt] after nouns which end in [ṯ] or [ṭ] is not a valid statement for the historical study of the ca:riyai.

Historically the inflected words are derived by positing [tu], the neuter singular suffix after noun (Kumaraswami Raja 1971) as in

a:ṯ–tu → a:ṭṭu–

This hypothesis also does not hold good because most of the words which end in [ṯ] or [ṭ] are verbs except a few nouns. Further, though the nouns a:ṯ–u 'river' and a:ṯ–u 'six' end in [ṯ], the final stop [ṯ] in both nouns does not double. Only the noun a:ṯ–u 'river' has the doubling of the final stop but not a:ṯ–u 'six'. This may be observed here.

a:ṯ+ukku →	a:ṭṭukku	'to the river'
a:ṯ+ukku →	a:ṯukku	'to six'

So the doubling of the word final stops such as [ṯ] or [ṭ] needs an alternative hypothesis instead of having [tt] or [tu].

This paper tries to derive the inflected forms of the words which end in [ṯ] or [ṭ] by positing [ṭ], the causative marker. Further, this paper tries to establish that the causative verbal constructions are used as nouns also where the doubling of the stops has taken place before case marker.

This suggestion raises the question whether the phenomenon of using causative verbal constructions as nouns is universal or language specific. Tamil has used the verbal forms as nouns such as aṭi 'to beat' or 'one foot'; piṭi 'to catch' or 'one hold'; paṭi 'to read' or 'one copy' or 'one measurement'. In the same way infinitives are used as nouns. For example, varutal 'coming', but in the construction varutal ve:ṇṭum 'to come' varutal is an infinitive. It seems that the third type as mentioned above that the use of causative forms as nouns is also possible in many languages (Rama Rao: personal communication).

The simple verbs such as o:ṭu 'to run', naṭa 'to walk' have the causative forms as o:ṭṭu and naṭattu respectively. These

causative forms can be derived from the simple verbs by positing [t] as the causative marker. The derivations are like these :

o:ṭ–t	→	o:ṭṭ–		'cause to run'
naṭak–t	→	naṭatt–		'cause to walk'
tirump–t	→	*tirumpp–	→	tirupp– 'cause to turn'
kalank–t	→	*kalankk–	→	kalakk– 'cause to stir'

In the same way, the causative verbs which end either in [ṭṭ] or in [ṭṭ] can be derived from the simple verbs with the help of [t], the causative marker. This may be observed in the following examples :

e:ṭ		'to climb'	
e:ṭ–t	→	e:ṭṭ–u	'to raise'
u:ṭ		'to flow'	
u:ṭ–t	→	u:ṭṭ–	'cause to flow'
ma:ṭ		'to change'	
ma:ṭ–t	→	ma:ṭṭ–	'cause to change'
ki:ṭ		'to tear', cut (DED: 1353)	
ki:ṭ–t	→	*ki:ṭṭ–	'cause to cut'
na ṭ		'to appear' (DED: 2380)	
na:ṭ–t	→	*na:ṭṭ–	'cause to appear'
ciṭ		'to become small, shorten'	
ciṭ–t	→	*ciṭṭ–	'to make small'
ci:ṭ		'to get angry'	
ci:ṭ–t	→	*ci:ṭṭ–	'cause to get angry'
kuṭ		'to pound in mortar'	
kuṭ–t	→	kuṭṭ–	'cause to pound'
akal		'to spread'	
akal–t	→	akaṭ–t → akaṭṭ–	'cause to spread'
ka:l		'to blow'	
ka:l–t	→	ka:ṭ–t → ka:ṭ–	'cause to blow'
payil		'to learn'	
payil–t	→	payitt–	'to teach, train'
cul		'to round'	
cul+t	→	cuṭṭ–	'cause to encircle'

In the same way the causative forms which end in [ṭṭ] may be derived with the help of [t], the causative marker.

o:ṭ		'to run'	
o:t–t	→	o:ṭṭ–	'cause to run, to drive'
ku:ṭ		'to gather'	

*This symbol stands for unacceptable forms.

ku:ṭ-t	→	ku:ṭṭ-	'cause to gather'
va:ṭ		'to dry'	
va:ṭ-t	→	va:ṭṭ-	'cause to dry'
a:ṭ		'to dance'	
a:ṭ-t	→	a:ṭṭ-	'cause to dance'
curuḷ		'to roll'	
curuḷ-t	→	curuṭ-t → curuṭṭ-	'cause to roll'
puraḷ		'to turn'	
puraḷ-t	→	puraṭ-t → puraṭṭ-	'cause to turn'

Many of the causative forms which are derived from the simple verbs with the help of the causative marker [t] are used as nouns also. They are as follows:

u:ṭṭ-u	'spring'
ki:ṭṭ-u	'scrape'
na:ṭṭ-u	'seedling'
ka:ṭṭ-u	'air'
kuṭṭ-u	'pounding'
va:ṭṭ-u	'drying'
a:ṭṭ-u	'movement'

These words are used as nouns in the modern Tamil also. The words such as ki:ṭṭ-u, ka:ṭṭ-u and na:ṭṭ-u are not used as causative verbs but they have their relative simple verbs and nouns. This shows the derived causative forms are lost from their usage. Because, other forms such as u:tt-u, va:ṭṭ-u, a:ṭṭu, o:ṭṭ-u, ku:ṭṭ-u, kuṭṭ-u have all the three forms, namely the simple verb, the derived causative verb and the noun are used in the present day Tamil. There is a possibility to have the view that those derived causatives which could be extended as nominal forms are used as nouns and those derived causatives which could not be extended as nominal forms remained only as causatives. In later development the derived causatives have taken the nominalizer [am] as in o:ṭṭ-am 'running', a:ṭṭ-am 'dance', etc. may be one of the reasons of not using the derived causatives into nouns as such.

There are certain nouns which behave like the causative verbs in doubling of the final stops before case marker. They are a:ṭu 'river', vi:ṭu 'house', ma.ṭu 'cattle', ka:ṭu 'forest', etc.

The word a:ṭu is derived from the verb root aṭu 'cut into two, cleave, etc',

a:ṭu causative of aṭu. (Tamil Lexicon)

The derived causative verb of the simple verb aṭu may be derived with the help of the causative marker [t] as this:

aṭ–t → aṭṭ– → a:ṭṭ– 'cause to cut into two'

The noun kiṇaṭu 'well' is derived from the verb root ki:ḷ 'to rend, split'. Also there is a verb kiḷar and kiṇaṭ may be related forms since in many words the retroflex nasal changed into retroflex lateral as in

koṇ → koḷ 'horse gram'
eṇ → eḷ 'seasom seed'
ki:ṇ+ar may be the verb root for the derived causative form kiṇaṭṭu because –ar the verbalizer is found in the middle Tamil (Meenakshisundaram 1965). This may be observed in the following:

mai 'black', mai+ar 'to be blackened, to be confused'

The nouns ma:ṭu, and ka:ṭu also behave like any other verbs in doubling the final stops though there is no evidence to say that they are verbs in † Tamil. But these words are used as verbs in Kannada as shown below:

ma:ṭ– 'to cultivate' (DED: 3931)
ka:ṭ– 'to give trouble (DED: 1207)

The derived causative forms of these verbs may be derived with the help of [t] as in the other verbs.

ma:ṭ–t → *ma:ṭṭ–u 'cause to cultivate'
ka:ṭ–t → *ka:ṭṭ–u 'cause to give trouble'

Since the forms ma:ṭṭ- and ka:ṭṭ– are the derivable causative forms with the help of the causative marker [t] as other derived causative verbs, these forms might have been the original nouns as the other causatives used as nouns. But when the forms such as ma:ṭ–, ka:ṭ–, etc. started using as nouns as such, ma:ṭṭ– and ka:ṭṭ– are retained before case marker and also retained in the attributive construction as in ma:ṭṭu vaṇḍi 'bullock cart', ka:ṭṭu vaṛi 'forest route', etc.

The noun pa:ṭṭu 'song' can be derived from the verb pa:ṭu 'to sing' as o:ṭṭu 'running' is derived from the verb o:ṭu 'to run'. But the word pa:ṭṭu lost its causative sense as o:ṭṭu lost its nominal sense. This shows that the formation of noun from the simple

† I believe that these words might have been used as verbs. But somewhere in the history of Tamil we have lost this usage.

verb through causative formation has a kind of correlation with each other, which ultimately caused the doubling of the word final stops namely [ṯ] or [ṭ]. So the doubling of word final stops is not an empty unit or the adding of the neuter singular suffix [tu] but it has the causative sense in Tamil.

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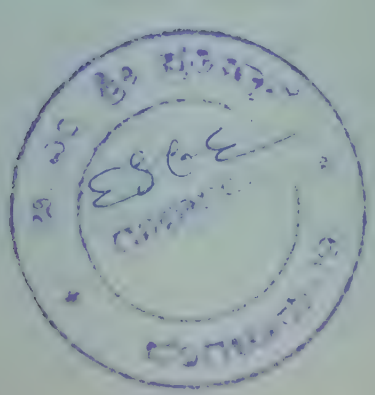
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Colophon :

I am thankful to E. Annamalai, N. Kumaraswami Raja and C. Rama Rao for their valuable suggestions and comments.



REVIEW

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE

Lachman M. Khubchandani. Poona: Centre for Communication Studies. 1981. pp. 88.

C. R. Sankaran
Pune

This is a thought-provoking unconventional book written by a linguist of distinction, intended more for non-linguists.

The author has made a painstaking survey of the growth of education particularly in India. He has made a thorough going analysis, with facts and figures based upon census reports. It is indeed a pregnant observation the author has made on page 23: "The notion of uniformity and homogeneity even in the speech behaviour of an individual is only a myth. In a sense, speech behaviour can be regarded as a coherent cerebral activity having a wider or narrow spectrum in an individual or in a speech community." For, in truth, "every moment the nervous system is different is new" (Cerebral Representation (William Goodv 1956, *Brain* 79: 167) refered to by C.R. Sankaran "Determination of the Ultimate Unit of Speech" –*Phonetica* 1966 14: 87, foot note 18). Khubchandani has made a brilliant suggestion for a clear-cut distinction between "speech process" in everyday life and "normative entity" as chaperoned through language elite". (P. 24).

This has appealed to me, for I have been myself probing in depth, speech process. (cf. C. R. Sankran, Process of Speech, Deccan College Monograph Series 27, 1963).

Khubchandani makes indeed a significant observation that "the pyramidal structure in the contemporary education, concentrating on the preparation of the talented few to the full extent of their capabilities, has led to the staggering number of failures at every stage of evaluation." (P. 26) It is to be borne in mind by parents as well as educationists that the mentally retarded among the other handicapped children ought *not* to be drilled in

the same way through the usual procedure of school education which is more fitted for the talented few only.

The present reviewer agrees with the author of this book that the same sad state of affairs still continues in our country. The imposition of a foreign medium especially in rural education has its attendant dangers resulting in communication gaps and the following citation (P. 29) from Halliday is most apt: "A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being, to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed of the colour of his skin."

The author clearly points out that academic prejudice regarding the capacity of the working-class children speaking their own language is totally challenged by modern linguistic theory (P. 29).

In his excellent chapter on "Language and Communication" (pp. 30–41), Khubchandani touches the exciting classical theory of SPHOTA due to Bhartrihari. The present reviewer has dealt with the hierarchical levels of abstractness in the theory of *sphoṭa* (C. R. Sankaran, "The philosophical analysis of the Alpha – phoneme theory in relation to the speech structure, *BDCRI* Vol. 14, P. 100) the ultimate unit of communication. The term SPHOṬA denotes the sound form with respect to its semantic value, that is, the sound form as a semiotic invariant underlying speech variations." (Sebastian Shaumyan, "Semiotic bases of universal grammar" *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, Vol. IX No. 2 June 1980, P. 203).

Ultimately speaking, there is a concord between mind of which language is only a symbolic activity and external nature. (See, Agnes Aber, The Mind and the Eye: A Study of the Biologist's Standpoint, Cambridge University Press, 1954, P. 91)

Khubchandani challenges the assumption that language is a self-contained autonomous system (P. 31). Students of aesthetics, particularly of what is known as *alankar śastra* in Sanskrit and the concept of *dhvani* (ध्वनि) therein, will certainly find Khubchandani's observations, "speech in noteworthy for what it conceals as much for what it reveals" His masterly treatment of the subject (P. 33) points out that suggestion, and not the external expressions, is the soul of all art, like music and poetry in depth.

Khubchandani explodes many a myth and superstition concerning the system of school education and in this connection refers relevantly to. A. N. Whitehead's (P. 35) following observation

in his classic *Adventures of Ideas*, "Our reasonings grasp at straws for premises and float on gossamers for deductions" is aptly quoted by Khubchandani. It has to be borne in mind by all who are keenly interested in education what Khubchandani rightly observes, "One notices growing dissatisfation with the current analyses of classroom language interaction which stresses over language functions" (P. 36)- Khubchandani points out the progresive method in education which Halliday calls "descriptive" and "Productive" language teaching (P. 37) and Khubchandani equally well refers to the danger in separating the written and spoken language in the children's work quoting aptly again Halliday as such "a procedure puts a brake on children's self–expression and leads ultimately to the listlessness of some classroom essays." (P. 38)

The need for awareness of dialect variation on the part of teachers is pointed out by other scholars too (For instance, See D. M. Joshi's letter, Linguists' role in language teaching, *Dravidian Linguistics Association News* vol. 5 No. 12, Dec. 81). But Khub chandani's pointed reference to the observation of Waismen that "Grammatically streamlined language is only good for saying things that are no longer worth saving," as well as his reference to Gandhiji's thinking on integrating education with experience and language acquisition with communicability are equally significant (P. 33). The problem is in regard to the urgent need for adopting, a "pragmatic approach to linguistic usage in education, taking into account the mechanisms of standardisation of language in plural societies and also values attached to such process, so as to build on the resources inherent in the wide range of Speech settings characteristic of intricately segmented communities in the country" (P. 40-41).

The further chapter on "Language Privileges" is indeed a remarkable one. Khubchandani points out now the constitutional directive for the development in Hindi which provides us with a unique specimen of the most complex (both intricate and ambiguous) 'language engineering' ever envisaged through legislation (P. 46). He gives sane advice when he suggests changing the colonial domiation role of English into its equal participation along with developing Indian languages in the multilingual communication network (P. 47) as the only proper workable solution for the agitating controversy of English versus regional languages as the most suitable medium of instruction for Indian children. Khubchandani significantly points out that "It is essential to critically assess, different approaches of language teaching and prepare a

sociolinguistic framework for second and foreign language teaching, so as to project the complex task of integrating speech activity in everyday life through *interactional* strategies, controlled and graded on the basis of utilisation goals. It is mostly rural and working-class learners who have to bear the brunt of the imbalance rising out of the lopsided emphasis on language privileges and language elegance at the cost of communicability" (P. 52). Khubchandani's observation, "the present policies of the state government seem to be ambivalent as far as giving lip service to the narrow definition of mother tongue but directing their attention and energies, along with their resources, to the development of respective regional languages, Hindi and even English" (P, 54) is most valid and the present reviewer feels that it is high time the authorities concerned will reverse their policies in a more healthy manner. Khubchandani rightly points out how all the linguistic needs, the capacity of learners are some of the prominent casualities in the present set up" (P. 59).

While making a detailed analysis with facts and figures of the controversies over the medium of education, Khubchandani observes that, "the handicap in switching over the media for science and technology is not so much inadequate cultivation of Indian languages as is generally presumed, but lack of linguistically re-educated personnel to take up the task, and also purists shyness in accepting borrowed expressions for new concepts from living situations". He further says, "Development of 'high-brow' *tatsamised* style, based on artificial coinage from non-native classical stock has also been a great deterrent in adopting Indian languages for this purpose". (P. 67).

It is precisely true that due to the 'purists' antagonism towards endowing new concepts with expressions borrowed from real life, many scholars in various fields, finding the lofty coinages forbidding, are discouraged from making meaningful contributions through their native language (P. 67). It is noticeable that "teachers are reluctant to make any change until a large variety of books and journals in the national and regional languages become available" (P. 68). Khubchandani exposes the present prevailing hypocrisy when he observes : "one is confronted with an interesting characteristic of regional neo-elites in the emergent power structure who have succeeded in manipulating the colonial education system to their advantage by aligning themselves with the masses through the demands of cultural resurgence and rapid change in the education system, but at the same time professing

the 'elitist' values of language autonomy, uniform medium and elegant standards of 'school' language" (P. 68).

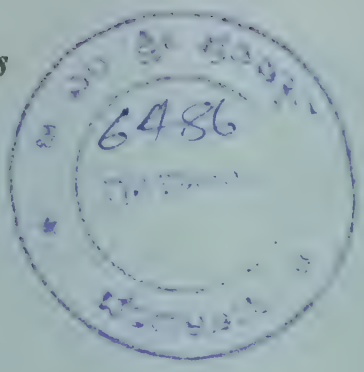
Khubchandani, with justification, says that "developments in the field of education are guided more by *extraneous* socio-political factors than being inspired by academic considerations.... On the grounds of feasibility, many programmes remain unimplemented. Because of the paucity of monetary and human resources, the administrators content themselves merely with plugging holes in a system that is functionally out-dated and is simply not with the growing aspirations of the masses" (P. 70).

The need now is to find a sound basis for properly relating non-formal education as 'recurrent' life long education with the formal education as 'preparatory' time-bound education. Again Khubchandani points out that "what we need is to identity the characteristics of a continuum which runs from the structured poetic utterances and incorporate them in our education programmes" (P. 74) and he concludes this thought-provoking work with the illuminating significant observation that "when dealing with education for plural societies we shall do well to realise the risks involved in *uniform* solutions" (P. 75).

This is a book meant for all thinking persons who are seriously interested in the problem of education in our country. In conclusion, a thorough bibliography at the end (P. 77–78), language index (P. 84) as well as subjects index (P. 84–88) are also appended. Serving a very useful purpose for any ready reference, the present reviewer who is a specialist in speech science, welcomes particularly this scholarly and well-balanced contribution on the allied subjects of "language, education and social justice".

As a theosophist and a keen student of occultism himself, seeking the hidden inner side of things, the present reviewer corroborates once again, the two main philosophical theses in the enlightening work of L. M. Khubchandani, namely 1) Language or human Speech more conceals than reveals the 'Reality' (see Geoffrey Hodson, "The Hidden wisdom in the Holy Bible - "An examination of the idea that the contents of the Bible are partly allegorical"– volume 1. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adayar, Madras 600020 India 1963 and pages 18–23.) 2) human beings particularly, at higher levels of evolutions, ought to be and are *eternal students.*

International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics



KONKNNI HUMINNYOM (KONKANY RIDDLES) : AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE KONKANY RIDDLES OF MANGALORE CATHOLICS

C. C. A. Pai. Bangalore : S. J. Satabdi Prakasan, 1981. pp. 760 Rs. 150/- U. S. dollars 30/-.

Lalitha R. Prabhoo
University of Kerala

With an impressive collection of 1168 riddles in the course of fifty years made by the author, this study on the anthropological aspects of the riddles of the Konkani speaking Mangalore Catholics deserves attention not only of anthropologists but also of sociologists, ethnographers and linguists. Running about 760 pages the book is divided into two parts. Part I starts with an extensive introduction, historicogeographic situation of people and the land and the analysed riddles in three chapters. Collected riddles from Mangalore Catholics supplemented with a collection from Goa and also from Kerala and a few definitions of riddles form Part II.

The Introduction in Konkani in three scripts viz., Kannada, Devanagari (Konkani) and English is informative and well presented. Riddles which form a major branch of study in folkloristics is a past time game of common gentry folk and children, a linguistic gambling reflecting the common man's aesthetic sense, life and culture - is a fast disappearing language data. The author begins this chapter on the derivation of the terminology of riddle - *humaṇṇi* - in Konkani as *hum-maṇi* "yes - say" (say yes or answer this question). The terminology of riddles in the various Indian languages like Sanskrit, *gu:ḍ* "secret", *praśno:ṭṭar* "question-answer", Hindi - *bhuja:ve:l* "past-time (game)", *bhul bhula:na* "that which confuses", Sindhi-*ko:ḍu:ma:ṇtna* "to score cross" (?) (number of crosses indicate

increase in indebtedness to the opposite party or the respondent), Malayalam – *kaḍamkada* "debt-story" indicate that riddles are a past–time game involving secrecy with twisting questions and is a sort of harmless linguistic gambling. A short discussion on the history of riddles in and outside India are given with examples. In India riddles are as old as vedic times and were named variedly in subsequent intervals of time (*brahmo:dy viva:d̲, ku:ṭ*, etc). Some of the riddles (*brahmo:dy*) are said to be evolved from Pura:nas. The western classification of riddles as 1. logographic 2. enigma 3. rebus 4. charade 5. epigram 6. mathematical and 7. conundrum with cited examples from Greek, Latin, English, etc. is discussed. The succeeding section deals with the distinctive features of riddles on literary, structural, semantic and linguistic basis. Literary distinctive features include simile (*upama*), metaphor (*ru:pak*) and exaggeration (*camaṭkar*). For structural features the author examines Robert Pets's* criteria that a riddle generally has five links (lines) with defined features They are as follows (all features are translated into Konkani by the author): 1. *prasṭa:van* 2. *a:ro:paṇ* 3. *varṇan* 4. *niṣe:d̲* 5. *sama:ro:paṇ*. The author cites examples of different combinations of these links. The following example will illustrate one such combination (as cited by the author p. 110), Riddle – 125

a:ro:paṇ – *a:mce d̲o:g javṭe bha bha:v*
'our two twin brothers'

varṇan – *hã:v mukhar tũ: mukha:r mo:ṇ dã.vṭa:*
'I in front you in front say run'

niṣe:d̲ – *mukha:r ma:tr eklo:y paḍlo:na:*
'in front but nobody fell not'

– *calce do.n pa:y*
– feet

The author cites Archer Taylor according to whom these combinations of links are not significant and that negating metaphoric simile is a distinctive feature of riddles. Non-negating simile in the statement type riddles is a later formation:

e.g. *a:vai baslya: du:v ghuṽṭa*
'mother sits daughter turns around'

– *van ani gaṭṭṇɔ*
'domestic grinding stone'

*Since all the references are translated into Konkani, they are not given in this review.

Typical question types, question-answer types are also found in this collection. Echo words, repetitive words and peculiar verbal constructions are typical constituents of a riddle which are not pointed out by the author:

e.g. 428 *cikcik sukṇe ghə:r Rakṇe*
'cikcik bird house gurads'
– *divo*
'lamp'

Here *Rakṇe* is a peculiar verbal construction.

e.g. 433 *chimchim sukṇe tiⁿśi do:ḷo*
'chimchim bird 300 eyes'
– *po:ḷo*
– 'pan cake'

Semantic classification (Archer Taylor's) is based on the meaning of riddling subject and the solution. This category is subdivided into 1. animate things 2. human 3. human relating 4. flora and 5. inanimate things. Linguistically the riddles are classified as 1. form based 2. action based and 3. semantically oriented. In this category the discussion is brief and more subcategories can be sorted out. This chapter with all these discussions is very neatly dealt with. Apart from this, this chapter is an excellent replica of standard spoken Konkani, Konkani proper free of Sanskritic (Tatsmas) influence In Kerala Konkani standard articles are largely standardised with Sanskrit tatsamas.

Chapter II in English delas with the historico–geographical situation of the people and land. Mangalore, a maritime city with blooming natural beauty, is reputed also as an agricultural (coconut, mango, jack–fruit, paddy, etc.) and industrial city is the home land of Konkani speaking Mangalore Catholics. The latter half of this chapter is devoted to the description of missionary work in Mangalore, which has practically nothing to do with the anthropological analysis of riddles! The author has stated that riddles on religion and philosophy are very few in this collection (p. 382).

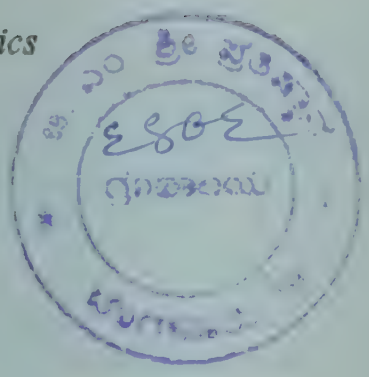
The third chapter too in English is on analysed riddles. The whole chapter though in English with all cited riddles translated into English abides by the main aim, i.e. on the anthropological analysis of Konkani riddles. True to his statement (p 166:1.63) '*Hea pustokantlo songroh Mangalluri konknni Kristauny lokachi rivaz dakoita*' (The collection (of riddles) in this book reflects the custom (culture) of the Mangalore Konkani Catholics). This

collection gives a cross section of the life and culture of the community.' The analysis centres around the following classification dealing with the daily life of a Konkani Catholic 1. human person 2. human body parts 3. food and kitchen equipments 4. cereals, fruits, vegetables and flowers 5. fauna–wild as well as domesticated (it is said that generally wild animals do not form subjects for riddling) 6. house and dwelling 7. climate and topography 8. religion and philosophy 9. communications, script book, pen, vehicles, etc. Each category is discussed clearly with ample examples. Various agricultural products like coconut, jack–fruit, mango, papaya, cashew apple, ginger, areca nut, palmyra, numerous vegetables are mirrored in this collection. The Catholics, who are professional, flower cultivators, seldom choose flowers for riddling. The most frequently occurring subjects are vegetables, fruits, body parts, cooking utensils, hearth, etc. Most riddles are of human–relating type largely involving kin terms. Almost all kinship terms repeatedly appear in the riddles.

The collected riddles of part II summing up to 1349 is a treasure house to Konkani language and literature.

One of the shortcomings of this book is alternate 'code–switching.' The introduction given in Konkani in three scripts serves the needs, of a native speaker of Konkani. Konkani is known as the mother tongue of a large group but it is limited to the home environment. Though Devanagari is the label script for this language, regional language is often sought for written communication. The next two chapters, which are in English are apparently meant for a non-native speaker or a Konkani speaker knowing English. The most difficult area comes in part II allotted for appendix of the collected riddles. This book which is meant to be helpful for anthropologists, linguists or sociologists gives all the riddles in Konkani in the three scripts with the corresponding solutions, without any support of corresponding meanings. Since it is dealt with in the language of Mangalore Catholics, a large number of the riddles and consequently the solutions are unintelligible even for a native speaker (like me) from a different dialect area.

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REJOINDER TO THE REVIEW OF THE BOOK 'SEMANTIC GRAMMAR OF HINDI: A STUDY IN REDUPLICATION'

Anvita Abbi
Jawaharlal Nehru University

1.0 I propose to comment briefly on Lakshmi Bai's (LB, henceforth) review (1982) of my book titled 'Semantic Grammar of Hindi: A Study in Reduplication' (SGH), which appeared in I.J.D.L. (xi, 1 : 191–198) 1982. An attempt is made in the following pages to show that (a) while some of the critical comments made in the above review are simply incorrect, (b) others are unwarranted because the statements made in the book have been overlooked and there are still others (c) that point to differences in the native intuition judgements about Hindi.

1.1 LB's main criticism of my work is that I have failed to note some of the important structural characteristics of reduplication and that I have missed the point that in general reduplication can take place only once in a sentence. (p. 197).

The author of this rejoinder can only express her surprise on the reviewer's ignorance. As a matter of fact we can employ not two but more than two reduplicative structures. Such constructions are very popular in colloquial Hindi, in folk songs, and in Hindi film songs. Consider the first line of a very popular film song :

raat raat bhar jaag jaag kar intzaar karte haiN, ham tum se pyaar
'night night awake awake gerund wait do are we you to love
karte haiN
do are
'Night after night I keep awake and wait for you.'

The sentence is very expressive and loaded with the semantics of reduplicated *raat raat* 'night night', and *jaag jaag kar* 'awake awake'.

What more, if there are two nominals in a construction each can take a reduplicated modifier. Consider:

acche acche laRkoN ne laal laal kapRe pahne
good good boys nom. red red clothes wore'
'each good boy wore red clothes'.
gorii gorii bacciyoN ne piile piile lahange pahne
'fair fair (skin) girls nom. yellow yellow skirts wore'
'fair coloured girls wore yellow skirts each'.

Also consider the following sentences where reduplicative structures appear several times in a sentence.

bacce bacce to bhaag bhaag kar paani laate rahe aur buuRhe buuRhe
'children children running running gerund water bring cont. and old old
vahiiN baiThe rahe
there sitting remained'
'children kept bringing water briskly (running back and forth) and old ones remained seated'.

jin laRkiyoN ke gaal laal laal, aaNkheN kaalii kaali, baal lambe lambe
'those girls of cheeks red red, eyes black black hair long long
aur cehre gore gore hoN ve hii film inTarvyu ke liye aayeN
and face fair fair those only film interview for should come
'Only those girls should come for the film interview whose cheeks are red, eyes are black, hair is long, and are fair complexioned.

LB's claim that reduplicative structures cannot occur twice in a sentence is absolutely wrong.

2.1 The reviewer observes wrongly that I have claimed in my book that the main verb of a sentence never occurs in a reduplicated form. Firstly, constructions like *aaiye aaiye* 'come come' were cited on page 7 of the book (unfortunately are missed by the reviewer's attention) though not elaborated as the main emphasis had been on reduplicated adverbs and adjectives. Secondly, no where in the book have I stated that the main verb is not reduplicated. My assertion has been that the main verb which is the *patient verb* of another verb (i.e. adverb) is never found in a reduplicted form. My examples and rule S2–2 (SGH p. 17) only validate this. I would like to repeat the rule here for clarification.

S2–2 V_i — ⟶ V_x pat V_i

reduplicated

i.e. the main verb can be the patient of reduplicated verb. It is this patient V which can never occur in reduplicated form as we never find the followir g kinds of sentences in Hindi.

**vo caRhte caRhte bolaa bolaa*
'he climb climb spoke spoke'

or

** jaldii jaldii aaiye aaiye*
fast fast come come'

Hence her criticism that I have stated that the main verb of a sentence is never reduplicated is based on the incorrect observation of the statements made in the book. In fact, in the introductory chapter I have briefly mentioned that complete reduplication of full sentences is also possible especially in speech. It is a universal feature that the entire sentence is repeated twice or three times for the purpose of emphasis Such constructions are more used by children than by adults. For instance sentences like the following are very common in any language.

I told you so many times, I told you so many times.....

or

mammii aa gaii mammii aa gaii.....
'mummy has come, mummy has come ...

2.2 As a matter of fact it does seem that whenever reduplication of final verbs occurs it is always at the phrasal level and whenever we do find imperative constructions like *aaiye aaiye* 'come come' they are in effect the reduced constructions of reduplicated phrases like *aap aaiye aap aaiye* 'you (honorific) come, you (honorific) come' with subject being deleted.

3.1 LB's another accusation is regarding "arbitrary and unmotivated" classification of verbs (LB p. 191) is again partially dependent in her imcomplete observation of the definition/concepts given in the book. She raises an objection to my classification of verbs like *sonaa* 'to sleep', *thaknaa* 'to get tired', and *biimaar honaa* 'to fall sick' as *process experiencer* verbs because as she says they are not two place verbs. This needs some comments.

3.2 It is clearly defined that "*process experiencer* verbs specifies that an experiencer undergoes a change of state with respect to a given object. It is accompanied by an experiencer noun which specifies the one who undergoes the change of a psychological state, and a patient noun which specifies the stimulus for *or the content of the experience.*" (p 15, SGH). Unfortunately while

quoting me LB has left out the underlined part of the definition, hence the confusion. Verbs like *sonaa* 'to sleep', *thaknaa* 'to get tired', and *biimaaar honaa* 'to fall sick' do indicate a change of state of an experiencer noun. They are sometimes accompanied by a patient noun which works as a stimulus for such an experience and sometimes by the content of the experience which is internalized into the verb of experience.

As stated in the book the four way classification of experiencer verbs into (1) state experiencer (2) process experiencer (3) action experiencer and (4) action–process experiencer gives us the choice of considering Hindi verbs such as *biimaar honaa, sonaa, thaknaa,* and *khus honaa* as process experiencer verbs. These verbs neither indicate a state or condition nor an action. Thus they cannot be our (1), (3) or (4). They indicate a change of state for an experiencer hence they could only be classified as process ecperiencer verbs.

3.3 LB in her review justifies later the case of *biimaar honaa* 'to fall sick' and *thaknaa* 'to get tired' as process experiencer verbs because "these can take 'cause'" (LB p. 192) as is evident by her examples like the following.

hoTal kaa khaana khaane se vah biimaar huaa
hotal of food eat by he ill happen
'he fell sick because he ate food from the hotel.'

paidal calne se vah thak gayaa
on foot walk by he tire went
'Since he walked he got tired.'

We can add two more examples to prove that even *sonaa* 'to sleep' can take such 'cause'.

maaN ke thapthapaane se baccaa so gayaa
mother of patting by child sleep went
'The child went off to sleep by mother's patting.'

mere lorii gaane se beTaa so gayaa
my lullaby sing by son sleep went
'The son went off to sleep by my singing of a lullaby.'

It was not only the element of 'cause' which motivated me to classify such verbs as process experiencer verbs but as stated earlier the fact that they are *change of state* (not just the state) verbs with respect to an experiencer. The stimulus may or may not be present but the content of the experience (which at times is internalized into the verb) is present. The interesting observation

about these process experiencer verbs is that they normally result in resultative adjectives such as *biimaar* 'sick', *soyaa huaa* 'sleeping', *thakaa huaa* 'tired', etc.

Moreover, her suggestion that on the basis of the possibility of a verb to take 'cause' I should have classified *marnaa* 'die', *suukhnaa* 'dry (intransitive)', and *TuuTnaa* 'break (intransitive)' as 'process experiencer' verbs is weird. To prove her point she gives the following examples (LB p. 192).

glaas niice girne se TuuT gayaa
glass down fall by broke went
'The glass broke as it fell down'

How can verbs like *suukhnaa* 'dry' and *TuuTnaa* 'break' which always take inanimate subjects (unless in metaphorical contexts) be classified under 'experiencer' verbs — the necessary condition for which is the undergoer of a *psychological event or sensation, emotion or cognition*? Inanimate nouns like *kapRe* 'clothes' and *pyaalaa* 'cup' in the following examples cannot be thought of as experiencer nouns.

kapRe dhuup meN suukh gaye
clothes sun in dry went
'The clothes dried in the sun.'

pyaalaa girne se TuuT gayaa
cup fall by break wont
'The cup broke as it fell down.'

According to our definition of process experiencer verbs given above *marnaa* 'to die' can also not be thought of being classified as process experiencer verb because in this particular case there is no experiencer noun to undergo the 'psychological state change'. In fact, the experiencer ceases to exist to experience anything.

3.4 Similarly, her criticism of 'action-process experiencer' verbs that *nocnaa* 'to pinch' unlike *baat karnaa* 'to talk' and *puuchnaa* 'ask' does not take agent, patient and experiencer noun is wrong. Consider the following sentences.

1. *usne meraa muNa noc liyaa*
 he my face pinch took
 'He pinched my face'

2. *amit ne taaraa ke gaal par cuuNTii nocii*
 Amit Tara of cheek on pinch pinched
 'Amit pinched on Tara's cheek'

3. *naain taaraa ke muNhaase noc rahii thii*
beautician Tara of pimples pinch staying was
'the beautician was extracting pimples of Tara.'

LB 10. *usne mujhe nocaa*

he to me pinched
'He pinched me'

Examples given above (1, 2, 3, LB 10) and below (4, 5) are similar.

4. *pulis ne cor se(ek savaal) puuchaa*
police thief from (one question) asked
'The police asked thief (a question).'

5. *maine raadhaa se (dukh sukh kii) baateN kiiN*
I Radha to (sorrow happiness) of talk did
'I talked to Radha (of her well being).'

In sentences 1 and LB 10 the object is lexicalized into the verb. *usne mujhe nocaa* 'he pinched me' implies *usne mujhe cuuNTii nocii* 'he pinched me a pinch.'

There are certain 'impact verbs of 'saying' in which the object is incorporated into the verb; and the direct object of the verb then becomes the hearer or 'impacted party' viz. experiencer case. Specially, with reference to verbs of saying, the agent speaks and produces an utterance, called the object (here patient). This object, in turn, acts as a stimulus for the experiencer who hears the utterance. 'Impact verbs' like *nocnaa* 'to pinch' are instigated by an agent which produces an object (at times overtly lexicalized like *cuuNTii* 'pinch' in the above example) which works as the stimulus for the said experience. LB's review fails to follow the grammar proposed by Chafe and Cook (1970, 1972).

3.5 Psyche movement verbs and experiential verbs had always been a challange in any language. What may work as the stimulus of the experience in one language may work as a content of the experience in another. The issue at present is not verb classification but redulication. However, an in-depth study of experiential verbs and adjectives of Hindi is really called for.

4.1 LB disagrees (p. 194) with the view that reduplicated structures like *khaa khaa kar* (V V-kar) 'having eaten eaten' never indicate sequential meaning which non reduplicated structures may. To support her argument she gives the following example.

LB 18. *Vah apnii Tokrii se khilaune nikaal nikaal kar baccoN ko*
he his basket from toys taking out taking out children to
dikhaane lagaa
show started.

'He started showing the toys to the children by taklng them out from the basket.'

According to LB the above sentence indicates only sequential meaning.

Surprisingly, the sentence expresses the manner of showing the toys more than the sequence of one action *nikaalnaa* 'to take out' and then the second action *dikhaanaa* 'to show'. What more even non reduplicated counterpart sentence *vah apnii Tokrii meN se khilaune nikaal kar dikhaane lagaa*, indicates manner and not sequence.

5.1 Her criticism of reduplicative adjectives also stems from her incorrect observation of the statements and examples given in the book. Her argument that adjectives which are reduplicated in a modifier position may not be reduplicated necessarily in predicate position is not supported by her own data. The entire section on Comparative and Contrastive Constructions in the book (of which there is no mention in the present review) deals with predicative reduplicative adjectives. Also, the sentences with reduplicative adjectives in predicate position and marked incorrect by her do not seem to be ungrammatical at all. In fact, these constructions marked incorrect in the review can be used in larger constructions without violating any grammatical aspect.

5.2 When an objection was raised in my book to deriving attributive adjectives from relative clauses (as was being done by Kachru (1966), and Verma (1971) the whole purpose was to show that non-relativized construction does not give the same information as the relativized one does; and that was the reason why the relativized constructions with predicate adjectives were kept in the bracketed asterik (*) stating clearly (SGH p. 124) "*grammatical but semantically divergent sentences.*", a phenomenon completely ignored by the reviewer.

The kind of divergent semantic information I am talking about is present also in non-reduplicative adjectives used in relativized and non relativized sentences. Consider:

maine kal garm kapRe pahne the kyoNki ThaND lag rahii thii
I yesterday warm clothes wore because cold feel durative was
'I wore warm clothes yesterday because I was feeling cold'

maine kal jo kapRe pahne the ve garm the kyoNki ThaNd lag rahii thii

I yesterday rel. clothes wore those warm were because cold feel dur. was

'The clothes that I wore yesterday were warm because I was feeling cold.'

The second sentence excludes the possibility of having worn any cool colthes which sentence one does not. Relativized sentence always delimits or narrows down the noun to a specific smaller subclass (Abbi 1981). The other reason being that the difference between reference modification often selects different meanings of adjectives, e.g. in *a criminal lawyer* vs *lawyer is a criminal.*

5.3 According to LB's arguments non reduplicative forms can be employed in predicative constructions but reduplicative forms cannot be. I wish this was true because that would have given me one more argument to prove that non reduplicative and reduplicative constructions are not transformationally derivable from each other as maintained by Kachru (1966). The non permissibility of occurrence of certain adjectives in predicate positions in relative clauses holds equally true for both reduplicative and non reduplicative modifiers. The constraints are not in the reduplicative structures but, as stated earlier, in the selective choice of meanings implied in reference modification and referent modification. (See Abbi, 'Relativization in some Indian languages.' forthcoming.) Hence her assertion that I should not have criticized Kachru and Verma for their deriving adjectives from relative clauses because reduplicated prenominal adjectives may not occur in predicate position also is untenable. Happily enough, Kachru in her latest work (1980) no longer claims that all attributive adjectives are derived from relative clauses.

6.1 In discussing the critical comments made by LB in her review, I have briefly explained in this rejoinder that most of the critical comments are not tenable since some of them reveal a lack of proper comprehension of the material contained in the book and others reveal a lack of familiarity with some popular colloquial Hindi constructions and/or a lack of native intuition regarding their meaning and use in Hindi language. It would have been a much healthier circumstance if LB had provided constructive criticism of the type that helps in correcting, reorganizing or perhaps

extending the contents and scope of the book under review. It is good that LB has raised the problem regarding treatment of adjectives as predicate elements and I hope to deal with them in future studies.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

DISCUSSION ON THE STRENGTHENING THE DRAVIDIAN STUDIES IN JAPAN

August the 18th, 1981 at 9 P. M. in the Hill resort Kai Uzonomi, Japan

V. I. Subramoniam

The participants were Dr. Noboru Karashima (Professor of History in the Faculty of Letters, Tokyo University) who has done extensive village study in the Tanjore Delta and was a student registered in the Madras University, member of the Governing Council of the ISDL, Board of Editors of IJDL, Trivandrum, Dr. Toku Naga (Harward Ph. D on Rigveda, author of the book on Tamil Grammar, now Associate Professor in the Gifu University) who recently has travelled to the South, Dr. Shinji Shigematsu (Asst. Professor, a student of the Madras University under Prof. T. V. Mahalingam, extensively travelled, interested in Tamils) and V. I. Subramoniam (Visiting JSPS Senior Researcher).

VIS: I welcome you for the informal chat. Regarding the popularisation of Dravidian studies in Japan I see three possibilities : (i) to organise Departments for the study of Dravidian studies, (ii) to build in Dravidian studies in the existing departments, (iii) to implement projects on the Dravidian area. Finally I will discuss also the possibility of organising Japanese studies in the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum.

NK: The Dravidian studies if neglected it is because interdisciplinary studies are not yet popular in Japan. So it is really one of the gulfs between disciplines on the one hand, and the neglect of the Sanskrit Departments in studying Dravidian though in the west two Senior Professors of Sanskrit are the leading contributors to comparative studies in Dravidian.

TN: Then change the name of the Department of Sanskrit/Indology as Dravidian. Even change the name.

NK: Very very difficult.

TN: But at least change the contents. For the time being that itself will be a great step.

SS: Do you have any idea of the Departments of Dravidian studies in the world?

VIS: In Japan?

SS: In India.

TN: In Poland I know.

SS: In the University of Malaya they planned to have the Department of Dravidian Studies. Due to political pressure they have to change the Department to Indian Studies. Most of the staff are Tamil scholars. They complain that they cannot pursue Dravidian studies but only Indian studies.

NK: The situation is peculiar in Malaya and Singapore where a large segment of the migrants are Tamils.

SS: That is why they complain. They have to cover Indian studies in the whole of South East Asia and not particularly Tamil studies.

NK: The next substitute will be to establish societies. That is why I have organised the Japan Society for South Indian Studies, 5 years ago in Tokyo where we can gather a study group. In Japan to organise a Department or Centre entirely devoted to Dravidian studies will be very difficult. For that Dravidian studies will be too narrow at this stage, I think. As Toku Naga suggested it will be important to get the staff interested in the Departments on Dravidian studies by changing the structure and function of the staff. The trands of the course is to be changed. It depends on publicity for Dravidian studies. The Japan society for South Indian Studies have very active members like Toku Naga, Singamatsu, Taka Hashi (now in Madurai), Mizushima (who did his M. A thesis on Pondicherry in the 18th Century A. D). At first we have to devote ourselves to the studies of South India and produce good results and than gradually, I think, we can have separate departments for Dravidian studies as soon as more young students are interested in the Dravidian area.

VIS: As it now stands, the immediate possibility will be to encourage Dravidian studies among scholars as a field of enquiry in

relation to other subjects. As an ancillary subject popularise it among youngmen so that ultimately separate departments can be organised. Youngmen taking to the studies of Dravidian are bounded by job opportunities and it may not be possible for them to be attracted by the subject whatever may be its importance. The Dravidian cannot flourish without opportunities for scholars for furthering their knowledge and devotion entirely to Dravidian area.

TN: As one trained in the Dept. of Indian History I may say this: In Japan the number of Buddhistic departments is considerable. If only they change their interest from Buddhistic to Indian studies it will be a step forward and will be substantial. Then the scholars will naturally come to Dravidian studies because in Indian studies one cannot neglect Dravidian studies.

NK: Not naturally, but some how as the time goes on.

TK: When once they are interested in Indian studies and in India they cannot neglect Dravidian studies.

NK: That is indeed important. But there were in olden days good Indologists in Japan who do not attach at all any importance to Dravidian studies though they had substantial contribution to Indian Philosophy or literature.

TN: This is the by-product of Buddhistic studies. Their interest in Indian History or Philosophy is a by-product of Buddhistic studies. When Dignaga and other Logicians argue against other systems of philosophy they change their approach and arguments. It is necessary even for Buddhistic scholars to the doctrines of Nyaya and vaisheshika scholars. But in Japan such studies are so narrow that they do not bother about other doctrines. They are not interested in Indian thought at large.

VIS: Am I to understand that Buddhistic studies are stronger in Japan.

NK: Traditionally it is so. That is the starting point of Indological studies.

VIS: Are many scholars involved in that?

NK: Yes. A large number. The Nagoya meet of Buddhistic scholars which is a big gathering just postponed is another indication of the number of traditional scholars involved in

the Buddhistic pursuit (Even the abstract of papers in Japanese for the two-day Conference runs to two thousand pages. The standards of which is not high enough and most of them are explicatory in their approach). This is an earlier information I collected when I was in Nagoya.

TN: I have always felt that Indian studies in Japan is a mistress of Buddhistic studies.

VIS: One of the approaches we can adopt is that Tamil preserves a lot of Buddhistic texts next to Sanskrit and pali in India. Second is that Buddhistic Theravada or lower vehicle had spread to Ceylon through Tamilnadu. Many of the Buddhistic scholars like Buddha Gosha (Chulla) were natives of Tamilnadu (Tinnevely, Madurai etc). Hence to study Ceylon Buddhism it is necessary to study South India. The Epic Manimekhalai, Vimbiswara Katha now lost but some remnants are available and the grammar viirachooḷiyam which follows a new trend in integrating the Sanskritic and Tamil traditions are all by Buddhists. Also being a historian you will be interested in the information that inscriptional dialect has been noticed aspecially in the viirachooḷiyam. So the South cannot be neglected even for Buddhistic studies.

TN: All Buddhistic scholars of Japan are ignorant of Dravidian and its importance to Buddhistic studies themselves. The Japanese Indologists were obsessed by western studies of India. The Buddhistic scholars are much more inclined to the west.

NK: That is quite true. All Aryan and Buddhistic studies are patterned after the west.

VIS: That is a valid point. I hold that all the Japanes scholars in Sanskrit and Buddhism are trained in Europe. Only later the young members were trained in India. So Sanskrit came to Japan not from India but from the West.

TK: The Buddhistic scholars in Japan know India only through the Western scholars, not directly.

NK: But we historians have direct contact with India where we have stayed to collect material, did field work and hence our approach is different. I myself was in Mysore, Madras and Tanjore regions for over three years. Sigamatsu was there in Madras University for over two and half years. So we did not have any bias. Even in Sri Lanka we have a programme

for field study and have brought more intimate and a realistic picture of India.

VIS: Am I to understand that Buddhistic scholars are more interested in editing texts, publishing them with annotations. Are they not interested in Buddhistic logic ? The functional Buddhism, the Buddhism as practised in villages are now studied by Buddhistic scholars. Are they not interested in field studies ?

TN: Buddhistic logic is paid attention especially to Dignaga. But the Japanese are concerned with Buddhistic thought not in back ground or surroundings or the historic settings.

VIS: If they are concerned with the history of Buddhistic logic then naturally they have to enquire into setting and the person.

TN: As I have said that Buddhistic scholars do not go beyond and enquire into the background I was brainwashed in this.

NK: He is brainwashed by us (Laughter). I can tell you one instance. One of the scholars who specialises in Philosophy who is also a member of Japan Society for South Indian Studies gave a paper on Ramanuja's thought which he did very well. But during the question time when he was asked about the social change, the political conditions in Ramanuja's time, he was not prepared to answer. He is a good scholar but beyond his subject he is not prepared to go. That is whey I am encouraging young scholars like Toku Naga to take a broader historical perspective in their studies.

VIS: Even in philosophy two types are popular: One is document based research and another is the Buddhistic practice of the people which involves field work.

NK: Actually there are two questions involved (i) the gap between Sanskritic and other studies and (2) the ignorance of Dravidian studies in Japan. Again there is a gap existing among disciplines, among the departments. We have in the Tokyo University a Dept. of Indian history and literature and the Dept. of Asian History and culture. The historians are always broad based and inter-disciplinary in their approach. But the language and literature departments are narrow ane specialised. In erdisciplinary research should be built up in Japan. The gap between Sanskrit and Dravidian should be narrowed by popularising the Dravidian studies

when inter-disciplinary studies are made popular naturally the existing gaps between Sanskrit and Dravidian will be narrowed, I think.

VIS: You said about popularisation of Dravidian studies. One way to achieve this is through publications in English or and in Japanese.

NK: In Japanese is more important because many scholars will not be quite at home with English.

VIS: Assume in both Japanese and English the information regarding Dravidian is available in plenty and the people are informed of this group of languages and the civilization, will that in any way influence the Universities to organise separate Departments for Dravidian. Are the Universities sensitive to public demand?

NK: In future such a sensitivity may develop. But not now. Academics here are conservative. I am in the Dravidian field over two decades and I like South Indian language and culture. Even then, organisation of a separate department for Dravidian is not the best approach, I feel so. In fact Dravidian studies should be encouraged. That can be done within the Dept. of South Asian Studies. There is ample possibilities for Dravidian studies within this Department.

TN: VIS concluded his talk in Kyoto most aptly that Sanskritic studies need Dravidian and Dravidian studies need Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages. This proposal fits in well.

SS: What Dr. Karashima means is that the Departments of Indological studies will have to include Indo-Aryan including Sanskrit and also Dravidian. The focus in Japan initially should be to include Dravidian studies in the Departments of Indology or Department of Buddhism by emphasising the southern contribution to Logic and to Teravada Buddhism.

TN: Another point of view is that since we have department of Sanskrit we should have departments of Dravidian in Japan.

NK: In the case of the Tokyo University recently they have changed the name of the Dept. of Sanskrit literature to the Department of Indian literature.

TN: Really!

NK: Indeed. It is a recent change. It is now the Department of Indian Philosophy and Indian literature.

TN: That sounds pretty good. It is a big step. The name Sanskrit has disappeared, a step forward for a wider perspective.

NK There are two Professorships in that Department and my plea is that one should be responsible for Aryan languages and another for Dravidian.

TN: This again is a step forward.

VIS: In the Department of Indian literature you have mentioned that de facto the Professor will teach only Sanskrit language and probably Hindi also. No other Indian languages, I guess will be taught. If there is a Professor for Dravidian languages the teaching and research in Dravidian will certainly be undertaken. Your argument that a Department for Indian literature will be sufficient for Dravidian is to be looked at in this angle. Your proposal that a separate Professor has to be nominated for Dravidian is certainly good and is to be welcomed. If a nucleus of researchers is formed and the library is well equipped then, that will help in popularising Dravidian studies. Going round the libraries in Tokyo and other places I find that except for your (NK's) personal library which has a stock of all and very useful books which I have borrowed during my stay, otherwise I would have been put to difficulty, the other libraries are poor on Dravidian languages and culture. Even the Tamil lexicon is found only in the Kyoto University. I am subject to correction in my observation regarding the library.

TN: Now I have moved the Tamil lexicon from the Library to my table.

VIS: So augmenting the library is one step forward in popularising Dravidian languages. Left to me, I would recommend the Dravidian Linguistics Association to send either a free copy or at very reduced price its publications. When a book is sent free scholars do not attach any importance to it. I don't know what will be the position in Japan.

NK: I think we will give more importance to the free books.

VIS: In that case I will make a recommendation to the DLA to send its publications to six or seven centres like the Dept. of Letters, Tokyo University, Kyoto University and to other Centres, even out of the way centres so that the library may have books for reference regarding the Dravidian studies. We will also pay the postage.

NK: You know about the education system in Japan and the prestigeous Universities Tokyo and Kyoto. I, Takahashi and others are students of the Tokyo University. Toku Naga and Sigamatsu are from the Kyoto University. Your selection of the Tokyo and Kyoto Universities is quite correct and confine the gifts of books to the two Universities.

VIS: Regarding the nucleus of scholars we have now a fair idea. Regarding the projects connected with South India the thrust will be comparative. If a village study, then you will compare it with Ceylon or West Bengal. But so far as I understand language studies are not undertaken. Could you think of a language orientation in your project. Could you include linguistic studies by including linguists.

NK: The project which we are operating in India is financed by the Tokyo University for Foreign Studies because Universities like Tokyo, Kyoto have no budget provision for projects. Since the project is on land revenue and culture oriented, language study, I feel, has not been given importance so far. But linguistic work in that project can help a lot, but it is late to realize. But in future we will seriously consider this suggestion.

VIS: My impression is that linguistic departments are weak in the whole of Japan.

NK: But there are over thousand members in the Linguistic Society of Japan.

VIS: Indeed. But most of them are teachers of language especially foreign languages like German, English. I see several letters to the Editor of the Japan Times about their comments on usage claiming they are linguists. A few of the young linguists who are trained in some of the best universities in USA seem to be withdrawn or are occupied with their own work without making their points of view felt. Nor do they seem to enjoy the pleasure of analysing more languages, the challenge that is involved in tackling another or exotic languages. This cannot be rectified in the near future in Japan. Can it be?

NK: In the near future? I doubt.

TN: I think that there are a few good linguists in Japan but their quality is not high. They live on imported method.

NK: Like, say Chomsky says like this, so it is in the language that I have analysed or it is different from Chomsky.

TN: They are like businessmen who sell imported goods.

VIS: Even for Japanese, a grammar prepared by linguists will go a long way in the appreciation of the language. What is available and used in the class room of the High Schools is by traditional scholars with a language sense. Also here is an area where linguists in this country can contribute which will be welcomed by traditional Japanese scholars. At least they can very easily question some of the clarifications and furnish proof to confirm or contradict the stand of traditional grammars.

TN: If linguists were really interested in their subject without importing from the west they should have taken interest in the Indian philosophical thinking on language.

NK: Some Sanskrit scholars have described this area. Is it not?

TN: But they have paid no attention to linguistics. They are not concerned about it. Recently I told my own teacher who has done commendable work in this area that he should pay attention to De Saussure's theory and the Buddhist's apoha theory. They are very close. What has been claimed as a breakthrough by De Saussure, later has parallels in Dignaga's writings. The Japanese linguists are ignorant about such parallels.

VIS: So far we have covered Japan about the prospects of Linguistic and other studies connected with Dravidian. May I listen to you about the starting of Japanese studies in South India (All Japanese friends have a peel of laughter).

VIS: If you want to get something done you have to give something which is an accepted behaviour in business and administration the academic field included. In India the JNU has Japanese and Chinese studies It is mostly concerned with teaching Japanese. Similarly Delhi University has this facility.

TN: Poona too has this facility. Also in Santhiniketan.

VIS: The Defence Department had facilities for teaching Japanese.

NK: For sometime. But now not I suppose. Calcutta under the Consulate General's Office teaching of Japanese was undertaken semiofficially.

VIS: Since most of these Institutions are concerned with teaching Japanese, is there any introductory text book prepared by them?

NK: Yes. Mrs. Savitri Viswanathan of the JNU. She is the Professor; has published a book 'Japan' issued by the National Book Depot at Delhi: Mostly cultural and economic aspects of Japan have been treated in that book but not the language.

VIS: Two Japanese scholars are also there. Dr. Norihito Uchida and Miss. Gita R. Iseda.

NK: Besides, Miss. Balambal and Miss Rajalekshmi are in the JNU (Reader and lecturer respectively in the JNU). They are all South Indians. The last had two years stay in Japan.

VIS: Has any teaching material for Japanese been prepared and printed?

NK: I think so. At least the teaching material is privately circulated by mimeographing them. There are many students in JNU for Japanese.

VIS: Just as Alliance Francaise and Maxmuller Bhavan, does Japan undertake teaching of Japanese.

NK: In that respect Japan is underdeveloped. No facility or institutional arrangement has been made by the Government to teach Japanese language.

VIS: Prof. Karashima mentioned a possibility of starting Japanese studies

NK: Dr. Chandra Mudaliar who was here for a year was trying in the Madras University for Japanese studies.

VIS: Dr. Uchida is now the Senior Fellow of the International School of Dravidian Linguistics at Trivandrum. Suppose I recommend that Japanese studies be organised with him as the nucleus what topics will be of interest to the larger plan of strengthening Dravidian studies in Japan. For instance a course in Introductory Japanese or a translation of the Dravidian Encyclopaedia into Japanese or to request him to write an Introduction about the Dravidian people to be published in Japan and to be written in Japanese.

NK: None of them will be suitable. Perhaps Dr. Uchida will agree for a study of Indian language because he is at it for quite some time.

(Since the tape was exhausted and the participants felt that the tape recorder was a hindrance the rest of the session was not recorded. But a summary was recorded by me for use in the ISDL).

Dr. Karashima felt that if Dr. Uchida is interested he may offer an introductory course in Japanese. If not as a second alternative he may translate the Dravidian Encyclopaedia as soon as it is made press ready. We can speak with the printers for publishing it. If the DE is published in English at least thirty copies can be sold in Japan. But if it is published in Japanese the sale will not be possible. Finally Dr. Karashima assured that though today's discussion with me is very discouraging he will give some hope tomorrow about the development of Dravidian studies.

The next day also with Sigamatsu leaving early Toku Naga, Karashima and I continued the discussions.

NK proposed that along with the Oriental Congress in 1983 to take place in Tokyo for three days and in Kyoto for another three days a Seminar on South Indian Studies with 20 or more participants will be arranged. Though the subjects were finalised yet he hoped to include this Seminar.

Besides the Ministry of Education which has created the JSPS and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Japan Foundation there are a few private foundations like the Mitsubashi Foundation which subsidised the publication of his Index of Inscriptions. Three volumes for Rs. 120/- is a big gain for the purchaser. He will try whether any joint project can be arranged with the International School.

Also when VIS said that whenever the Tokyo University for Foreign Studies implements a project in Australia or Africa, the School can induct a linguistic bearing all expenses if such a proposal is made known six months earlier. The School can pay for the scholar but he will work in the project in collaboration with the Japanese sharing their data and experience so that both Institutions can be benefitted. NK immediately agreed to it.

Like the Americans sending their students for study of Tamil to Madurai NK asked whether Japan students can be trained in the ISDL. I recalled the Dutch group and agreed that the school can readily do it. It has teaching material and a close circuit T. V. Our starting of Japanese studies if initially helped with books, equipments and other grants from Japan we will be encouraged and more will be employed in that effort He agreed and said he would require some time to work it out.

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KONKANI - A CASE FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING

J. Rajathi
Calcutta

By grading Konkani as an undeveloped language "(or under developed)" we just mean that "It is a language that no one has taken the trouble to develop into what is often referred to as a "standard language". (Haugen 1966 (c) : 234)." What is meant by an "undeveloped" language? Only that it has not been employed in all the functions that a language can perform in a society larger than that of the local tribe or peasant village". (Ibid : 244). But then, strictly speaking, is there any language in India which is able to fulfil all the functions that a modern society demands? We would rather stick to the "non-scheduled" label to Konkani as against the "scheduled status" of the fifteen regional languages. When political advantage seems to be the paramount factor in recognising or not recognising a language as "developed", it is not surprising that a people who were migrating from one place to another for one reason or another for centuries could not get recognition for their language. In Kerala, though the Konkani speakers are less than 1 lakh, they could gain some advantage as theirs is the third numerically major language of this state.

Now that Konkani is the official language of Goa and is also recognised as a "literary language" by the Sahitya Academy, when it is taught in the primary schools of Goa and Kerala to the mother-tongue groups, used as a language of literary activities, are we justified in labelling it into a convenient "undeveloped" category?

Konkani is spoken from Trivandrum to Ratnagiri in the coastal areas in the continuous chain. As the political divisions cut this chain into Malayalam area, Kannada area, Portuguese area (till very recently) and Marathi area the portions of this chain have formed into rings in respective areas and communications were of

necessity meagre between these pockets trapped as they were by the state "scheduled language". As the cultural life of these people could continue uninterrupted due to their sufficient number and economic viability, their religious establishments could protect them and keep them intact. Cases of intermarriages even inter-caste marriages being very rare, Konkani has fulfilled its one function – being a "stable mother-tongue" over ten censuses. The moment Goa wrenched its freedom from the Portuguese rule in December 1961, they decided to stay away from Maharashtra as an independent territory. The Goans dream of statehood for Goa. Given the tenacity of these people to pursue their ideals, they might succeed one day. They love to be themselves, by themselves.

The background factors affecting Konkani speakers are far more important and complex than the technical factors involved in a LP programms. Besides the fact that code-mixing and code-switching is rampant, their love of the language is also equally strong – the Goan Christians using it for writing though major portion of the Brahmin Christians still speak Portuguese between themselves, the Hindus use Konkani more in informal contexts. The Religion providing them a central support, the written Konkani of Christians has ecclesiastical themes and is written in the Roman script. The Hindus of Goa write in Devanagari script. They have well developed dialects of their own. Margao (maṛgaõ) in the salcete area is for long the cultural centre of Goans. It was also the old conquest area occupied by the Portuguese in 1510, it presents the same paradoxical picture of conservatism and modernisation at the same breath. It is a literary centre and the headquarters of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal doing yeoman service for the cause of Konkani. It publishes the Konkani books for primary schools through its publishing committee. These books are again used in the schools run by Christian missionaries where the teachers are drawn from both the Hindus and the Christians.

In Maharashtra (272,970) the speakers are from Goa and Mangalore settled in Greater Bombay and the native settlers are found in Malvan, Vengurla and Ratnagiri. There does not seem to be any serious attempt to bring Konkani to the level of teaching.

In Karnataka (572, 822) the Konkani speakers are mainly found in the two Kanaras – South Kanara and North Kanara and adjacent districts. In Belgaum a sizeable population of Konkani speakers are found. Literary activities – again Christian and Hindu are centred in Mangalore, South Kanara. In Belgaum, there does not seem to be any literary activity.

The Christians from Mangalore to Mapuça (Mapse) have their church services in Konkani. This standardised variety used for religious purposes is not understood hundred per cent by any one geographical group.

Feasibility being their biggest concern, the Kerala Konkanis write their own variety of Konkani in Malayalam script, centre being Cochin. As there are no Christian Konkanis in Kerala except in Kasargod nunneries, the Cochin Gowd Saraswat Konkani can be called the Norm of Kerala Konkani. For linguistic purposes, Kasargod can be considered as a part of Mangalore Hindu Konkani. Both Christians and Hindus of Mangalore use Kannada script.

To sum up, there are two literary centres – Mangalore and Margao with two literary varieties – Christian and Hindu. There are six cultural centres – Cochin, Mangalore, Karwar, Belgaum, Bomby and Goa. To suggest a LP programme for Konkani* (1.522,684) – Karnataka (572,828), Goa (556,223), Maharashtra (272,970) and Kerala (73,245) can be a formidable task.

The main problem facing Konkani speakers is the lack of a "Norm" understood and used by all the speakers. The Konkani situation is a "dialect continuum" type; the speech – community is "a SECONDARY SPEECH COMMUNITY where there is partial understanding is ripe for a NATIONAL language" (Haugen, 1966(a): 166). There are "COMPETING ORTHOGRAPHIES" and the various regional standards vary between themselves. Added to this is the lack of practical necessity to keep up constant and periodically regular communication between the various cultural centres. Goa is inaccessible between June to October due to the heavy downpour of monsoon rains. Goa has the political advantage and will, while Mangalore has the potential for economic resources. So, to provide a single Norm for Konkani involves the following factors. "The particular issues of interest in studying movement from dialects to standards or the acceptance of one or another dialects as standard or the creation or crystallisation of new languages are those of: (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function and (4) acceptance by the community. Haugen states that the first two refer primarily to the form, the last two to the function of language and claims that the interaction of the four form a matrix within which it is possible to

* as per 1971 Census

discuss all the major problems of language and dialect in the life of a nation :

	Form	Function
Society	Selection	Acceptance
Language	Codification	Elaboration

This same organization is useful for discussion of most other problems of language contact....." (Haugen 1966 (b) summarised by Grimshaw in Joshua Fishman, 1971 : 103).

If we take up the three factors of "selection", "codification" and "elaboration", in the case of Konkani, there is no possibility of selecting a particular available standard as a norm. If we go by "the degree of use of written language and the nature and extent of standardization" Konkani can be graded as W_1 – St.[1] i.e. W_1 – used for normal written purposes and St.[1] – requires considerable subclassification to be of any use. Whatever scheme of classification is developed, it will have to take account in the first instance of whether the standardization is unimodal or bi- or multi modal, and in the case of more than one norm, the nature of the norms must be treated" (Ferguson, 1962(a) : 52–54).

"A convenient set of criteria for establishing "normal" use of the written language is as follows (a) The language is use for ordinary interpersonal epistolatory purposes. People write letter in it. (b) The language is used in popular periodicals, Newspapers appear in it. (c) The language is used in books not translated from other languages, people write and publish books in it". (Ibid : 52).

In the case of Konkani, I am not sure whether it is used for (a). As regards (b), one Newspaper "UZVADD" appears in Goa in Roman script and the standard used is the "Christian standard" and the readers are mostly Christians. It contains 4 pages with a 3 half-column English Section. The Hindus do with a Marathi Newspaper published in Margao by Shri Chandrakant Keni, the then President of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, Goa. As regards (c), a fair number of novels (by Christians) and periodicals (Mangalore Hindu, Mangalore Christian) and poems in the form of books (mainly Goa Hindu) are available. (For a complete list please refer to "PANCHKADAYI" – October 1980 (Vol. 14. 10).

Konkani is an Indo Aryan language and has the following salient features :

1. Nouns have a grammatical three gender system – masculine, feminine, neuter and a two number system – singular and

plural. The final vowel of the noun together with the plural allomorph give a clue regarding the gender of nouns. The matrix of the gender-number system of Konkani nouns can be as follows.

		Singular	*Plura*
Masculine	(i)	–ɔ	–ɛ
	(ii)	–u	–ə
Feminine	(i)	–i	–yɔ
	(ii)	–ə/a:/y	–ɔ
Neuter	(i)	–ə	–ə̃
	(ii)	–ɛ̃	–ĩ

Remaining nouns with endings other than these are to be classified as per their concord pattern in the phrase structure level.

2. The syntactic adjectives concord in gender – number with the following noun, which they qualify. Before case nouns, the gender – number part of the adjective is neutralised to a single form.

3. The concord pattern in sentence is as follows :

(i) if the predicate is a finite verb in non–past tense or is an intransitive verb in past tense then the concord in gender–number person is between the subject and the predicate.

(ii) if the predicate is a transitive verb in past tense then the concord in gender–number is between the object and the predicate, even when the object is inflected for case; the subject is in agentive case.

4. As regards "the order of meaningful elements" in Konkani (Greenberg, 1963: 58–90).

(i) It is an SOV Language

(ii) it is post–positional

(iii) Adjectives precede the qualifying noun

(iv) Adjectives precede the noun.

(v) Numerals precede the noun classifiers ja: ɳə̃ (m), jaɳiyɔ(f) are used after the numerals but before the human nouns.

The dialect situation of Konkani can be stated in terms of features. Due to the cumulative effect of the varied combinations of the features, the mutual intelligibility score between distant points can be as low as 50%. Geographically contiguous Zones sometimes have overlapping features due to diffusion. Whether a

uni-modal standard is acceptable to the speakers is not known. If a bi- or multi-modal is recognised it will just amount to making the *de-facto* condition *dejure*. Leaving aside the social acceptance part of the LP for future, the technical problems are :

1. It is better to have one NORM for the total Konkani area for use in formal contexts, contact situations and LP application for teaching purposes. It will be used by all when the situation calls for impersonal communication. In other words, there will be one STANDARD DIALECT of Konkani which will be used for communication between mutual-intelligibility Zones and cultural centres. Translations will be carried out in that DIALECT. Given the Konkani dialect situation this NORM is to be a construct, a compromise between the various "GRAPHOLECTS". It will be something like the Standard Hindi used in the Hindi area.

For building such a NORM for writing, a feasibility survey will have to be undertaken to go into (i) the universal use of a particular script, (ii) the type of standardization, (iii) the structural framework of the standard variety, (iv) sources of borrowing, (v) the linguistic communication between intelligibility zones. The criteria for standardization is to be strictly linguistic so that change in extra-linguistic factors does not adversely affect standardization.

The mutual intelligibility zones are (i) Cochin belt, (ii) Kasargod and South Kanara, (iii) North Kanara, Belgaum, (iv) Goa. The factors affecting mutual intelligibility are lack of continuous communication and code-switching to some other language if communication and code-switching to some other language if communication in Konkani is not smooth.

The Regional differences found in Konkani in terms of the mutual intelligibility Zones can be summed up as follows :

1) Retention of final vowels in words (specially in nouns) as against their loss.
2) Phonological differences in the case of the following phonemes - /ɯ, ɔ, o/ and /c, j, ts, dz, z, dh, f/ - Zones contrasting in terms of occurrence or non-occurrence of particular phonemes and the combinations.
3) /~/ playing a significant grammatical role as against the lack of it.
4) Frequency difference in the occurrence of geminated consonants.
5) Canonical from of vocables.

6) Vocabulary differences – two types – use of different native vocables – borrowings from different dialects of the different Zonal languages.

7) Use of participial constructions as against relative clause usage.

8) Use or non–use of relative particles.

LP for Konkani presupposes the following:

1. A Dialect dictionary and a lexicon which will have to be prepared and a periodical addition will have to be made on the occurrence of fortuitous borrowings into Konkani in the various intelligibility Zones.
2. The standard structure of Konkani (codification) to be formulated in accordance with its most predominant structural characteristics.
3. Borrowings – rules have to be regularised.
4. Innovations or in other words bulk coinage of words – sources as well as rules have to be decided.

The agency to carry this out and the financial side of the problem are to be taken into account.

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VOWEL-SEQUENCES IN MAHTO*

Ram Niwas Sahu
Ravishankar University, Raipur

'Mahto' is an unclassified mother tongue of Munda language family. According to the census report – 1971 the speakers of this mother tongue are only 7 in the whole of India. But, according to my Linguistic Survey. "A Survey of Munda Languages in Chhattisgarh" about 500 speakers live in this region. Mahto speakers are mainly settled in Kapot, Sonardih. Kangrelkhar, Pulali, Dhaura munda, Sonthi, Jewra, Newapara, Murli, Basibar, Sirki, Tiwarta, Basanpur, Kanjipani, Dadar, Jhora, Machhrikanta, Bhalpahari, Mundabhantha, Lonhariya, Ghatpar, Chaitma and Latadand villages of Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh.

Phonemically, there are six vowels in Mahto. They are /I/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ə/ and /a/. Phonetically, there are three degrees of length in high vowels, viz. First, longer after a consonant doubling and clusters; Second, long in the second position of repetition after one or more sounds and Third, normal in other positions. Mid vowels /e/ and /o/ have also three degrees of length above, but /ə/ has only two degrees, viz. first, shorter between non–voiced consonants, and second, normal in other positions. In the same way, there are two degrees of length in a low vowel, viz. first, longer after a consonant doubling and cluster and second, normal in other positions.

Semi–vowels /y/ and /w/ follow /I/ and /u/ as glide before other vowels. This is likely in all the Munda languages.

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Vowel sequences may also be established in Mahto. Any vowel may be used with any other vowel to form a sequence without losing its identity in bisyllabic or polysyllabic structure of words. There are two, three and four vowel-sequences found in Mahto. They are as follows :

Two Vowel-sequence

Last vowel is /I/, /eI/, /əI/, /aI/, /oI/ and /uI/ –

/botel?/ 'washerman' /dzorəI/ 'maize',
/naIn/ 'river' /boIr/ 'black barry'
/uI?/ 'moushroom'

Last vowel is /u/, /əu/ and /au/ –

/tʃəur/ 'rice' /hauĸu/ 'ant'

Last vowel is /e/, /əe/, /ae/ and /oe/ –

/bəerI/ 'enemy' /taen/ 'chrocodile'
/koelI/ 'cuckoo'

Last vowel is /o/, /Io/, /əo/ and /ao/ –

/ghIo/ 'ghi' /dəurI/ 'a rope to bring an animal'
/pao 'shole'

Last vowel is /ə/, /Iə/ and /uə/ –

/nerIer/ 'coconut' /tʃətuəm/ 'arm'
/

Last vowel is /a/, Ia/, /oa/ and /ua/ –

/golIa/ 'testicle' /toa?/ 'milk'
/sua/ 'parrot'

Tripal vowel-sequence

There are more conditions of tripal vowel-sequences except front. They are as follows :–

/Iua/	/tʃIuar/	'bow'
/eIə/	/meIən/	'waist'
/eIo/	/meIom/	'blood'
/eua/	/keua/	'beard'
/əoə/	/tʃəoər/	'bunch of hair'
/əoa/	/dzəoa/	'barli seed'
/aoe/	/kaoer/	'a rope for loading a weight'
/oIə/	/moIen/	

For vowel-sequence

Only one instance is attested in Mahto. It is a borrowed word :

/əuaI/ /həuaIdzehadz/ 'aero plane'

NOMINAL INFLECTION IN SRI LANKA GYPSY TELUGU – AN OUTLINE

W. S. Karunatillake
University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka

0. Sri Lanka Gypsy Telugu is a dialect of Telugu, spoken by a relatively small community of seminomadic people who earn their living primarily by snake– charming and sooth–saying. These people have been completely out off from the mainland Telugu speakers by a relatively long stretch of time, the exact date of their migration into Sri Lanka remaining yet to be investigated and ascertained. This is only a preliminary attempt at an analysis of the nominal inflection of this dialect. Substantive, pronouns and numerals are subsumed under nominals. The following phonemic symbols (Karunatilake, 1974) are used in this presentation:

Vowels: i, u, e, o, ɛ, a, plus length marked as / : /;

Consonants p, t, ṭ, c, k, b, d, ḍ, j, g, m, n, ñ, v, l, r, y s and h.

1. Substantives

These inflect for number and case, and fall into two major gender– classes: *human* vs. *non-human*–, based on verb– concord. The non-human is in turn classifiable into *animate* vs. *inanimate* depending on the case– type. Substantives are either *countable* or *non-countable*, the latter always being inanimate:

e.g *pa:lu* 'milk', *mannu* 'sand', *ni:lu* 'water' etc.

1.1 Number

There are two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being the marked category. Plural is represented by the markers: {–ka:ru ∞ –ka:ngulu ∞ –ru ∞ –lu}. Their broad distribution is as follows:

a. *-ka:ru*, is added only to those substantives indicating higher kinship terms (i.e., to the general exclusion of those kin-terms referring to children and younger siblings).

e.g.	*amma:*	'mother'	*amma:ka:ru*	'mothers'
	ma:ma:	'materal uncle'	*ma:ma:ka:ru*	'maternal uncles'
	vadana:	'female cross-cousin'	*vadana:ka:ru*	'female cross-cousins' etc.

b. *-ka:ngulu*, is added to derived nouns ending in *-ka:ḍu*, with the elision of *-ka:ḍu*

e.g. *biccaka:ḍu* 'beggar' *biccaka:ngulu* 'beggars' etc.

c. *-ru*, is added to those human nouns ending in *-V:ḍu*, with the elision of *-ḍu*, and to the noun *a:lu* 'woman' with the change *a:lu* → *a:nḍo:* before *-ru*.

e.g.	*ne.rsino:du*	'learned man'	*neirsino:ru*	'learned men'
	vaḍḍo:ḍu	'brahmin'	*vaḍḍo:ru*	'brahmins'
	pɛddo:ḍu	'great man'	*pɛddo:ru*	'greate men,
	a:lu	'woman'	*a:nḍo:ru*	'women' etc.

d. *-lu*, which is the most regular marker is added to all other substantives with certain morphophonemic adjustments:

e.g.	*mosili*	'crocodile'	*mosɛ:lu*	'crocodiles'
	godli	'axe'	*goḍɛ:lu*	'axes'
	illu	'house'	*inṭlu*	'houses'
	biḍa:	'child'	*billu*	'children'
	gurram	'horse'	*gurra:lu*	'horses'
	ra:y	'stone'	*ra:lu*	'stones', etc.

1.2 Case

There is a totol number of six case forms to be termed: direct, accusatives, (genitive) locative and vocative. Only animate nouns take the vocative case form and only inanimate nouns take the locative case form.

Generally the oblique case markers are added directly to the stem (= direct case singular form), in the singular and to the direct case plural form in the plural. There are, however, two subsets of of nouns of which, one shows an oblique stem as an obligatory term in the inflectional system and another having an oblique stem as an optional term in the inflectional system. Other nouns do not show with such a stem-alternation.

1.21 **obligatory – oblique stem**

a. singular : Nouns having the following terminal structures in the direct singular show up with singular oblique stems as follows :

–uḍu # → *–ini–*	e.g.	*tammuḍu*	'younger brother'
		→ *tammini–*	
–V*:ḍu* # → *v:ni–*		*vaḍḍo:ḍu*	'Brahmin'
		→ *vaḍḍo:ni–*	
		biccaka:ḍu	'beggar'
		→ *biccaka:ni–*	
–am # → *–a:ni–*		*gurram*	'horse'
		→ *gurra:ni–*	
		naram	'artery'
		→ *nara:ni–*	

The nouns *illu* 'house' and *ku:ḍu* 'food' have *inṭi* – and *ku:ṭi* – respectively as the oblique stem: *biḍa*: 'child' has *bin* – as the oblique stem and is restricted only to the accusative singular.

b. plural : Nouns ending in *–ru* in the direct case plural show up with a plural oblique stem ending in *–ri.*

e.g. *amma:ka:ru* 'mothers' → *amma:ka:ri–*
ne:rsino:ru 'learned men' → *ne:rsino:ri–* etc.

1.22 **Case – markers**

a. The following case – markers are common for both singular and plural.

direct : – Ø
accusative :–nu ~ –ni

those stems having an obligatory – oblique stem do not take the accusative marker, the oblique stem itself occurring in that function.

Otherwise – *ni* is added to direct forms ending in *–i–*, and *–nu* to others,

dative : –gu ~ gi
–gi is added to *–i* ending forms and
–gu to others.

locative: –la ~ –lɛ
–lɛ is added to – *i*/ – ɛ ending forms and
–la to others.

vocative: – a:
usually the direct case forms are used in this function. Optionally – *a:* is added to the direct case – forms.

b. Those stems ending in – *am* with the oblique stem ending in – *a:ni* replace the – *i* of the oblique stem by – *a* → – *a:na* as an optional genitive marker. Otherwise the genitival relationship is expressed by either the oblique stem or by the direct case form.

1.3 **Some sample paradigms are given below:**

singular:	*amma*: 'mother'	*gurram* 'horse'	*biḍa*: 'child'	*kunḍa*: 'pot'
direct:	amma:	gurram	biḍa:	kunḍa:
accusative:	amma:nu	gurra:ni	binnu	kunḍa:nu
dative:	amma:gu	gurra:nigi	biḍa:gu	kunḍa:gu
genitive:	—	gurra:na	—	—
locative:	—	—	—	kunḍa:la
vocative	amma:	gurrama:	biḍa:	—

plural

direct:	amma:ka:ru	gurra:lu	billu	kunḍa:lu
accusative:	—	—	—	kunḍa:lunu
dative:	amma:ka:rigi	gurra:lugu	billagu	kunḍa:lugu
locative:	—	—	—	kunḍa:lla
vocative	amma:ka:ra:	gurra:la:	billa:	—

1.4 Note that in the plural, especially animate nouns do not have a separate accusative form.

2. Pronouns

Pronouns inflect for number and are classifiable into personal, demonstrative, interrogative and inclusive. Their inflections are as follows:

2.1 Personal pronouns

a. first person

	Singular	*Plural*	
		inclusive	*exclusive*
direct:	ni:nu	manumu	mi:myu
accusative:	nannu	manalla	mi:malla
dative:	na:gu	ma:gu managu	mi:gu
oblique base	na:–	ma:– mana–	mi:–

b. Second person

	Singular	*Plural*
direct :	nu:vu nuvvu	mi:ru
accusative :	ninnu	mimmulla
dative :	ni:gu	mi:gu
oblique base	ni:–	mi:–

2.2 **demonstrative**

va:ḍu 'he – that human-masculine' *vi:ḍu* 'he-this human – masculine'

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
direct:	va:ḍu	va:ru	vi:ḍu	vi:ru
acc.	va:ni	va:r(i)lɛ	vi:ni	vi:r(i)lɛ
dat.	va:nigi	va:rigi	vi:nigi	vi:rigi
oblique base	va:ni–	va:ri–	vi:ni–	vi:ri–

adi 'it – that – non human' *idi* 'this – non human'

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
direct.	adi	avvi	idi	ivvi
dat.	da:nigi	avviṭigi	di:nigi	ivviṭigi
loc.	da:nṭlɛ	avviṭlɛ	di.nṭlɛ	ivviṭlɛ
oblique base	da:ni–	avviṭi–	di:ni–	ivviṭi–

2.3 **interrogative**

yavvaḍu 'who – human – mesculine' *e:nṭidi* 'what-non human'

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
direct.	yavvaḍu	yavvaru	e:nṭidi	e:nṭivi
acc.	yavvani	yavva:rilɛ	—	—
dat.	yavvanigi	yavva:rigi	e:nṭida:nigi	—
oblique base	yavvani–	yavva:ri–	—	—

2.4 Human – feminine is usually expressed by the demonstrative pronominal adjectives *a:* 'that', and *i:* 'this' followed by a noun referring to women, as in *a: a:nḍibida:* 'that woman' *i: a:nḍibida:* 'this woman' etc.

2.5 The oblique case is generally used to express genitival relationship, e.g. *na: u:ru* 'my village' *ma: u:ru* 'our village', *ni: illu* 'your house' etc.

2.6 **Inclusive**

These inflect only for case.

	anduru 'all – human'	*anni* 'all – non human'
direct.	anduru	anni
acc.	andirilɛ	—
dat.	andirigi	anniṭigi
loc.	—	anniṭilɛ

3. **Numerals**

All numerals inflect for case. Numerals from 'one' to 'seven' inflect also for gender. These are illustrated below:

		direct	*dative*	*locative*
ugu	(one)			
	human :	ugu	ugirigi	—
	non–human :	ugu	uguṭigi	uguṭilɛ
ronḍu	(two)			
	human :	idduru	iddirigi	—
	non–human :	ronḍu	ronṭigi	ronṭilɛ
mu:ḍu	(three)			
	human :	mugguru	muggirigi	—
	non–human	mu:ḍu	mu:ṭigi	mu:ṭilɛ
na:lugu	(four)			
	human :	nalugguru	naluggirigi	—
	non–human :	na:lugu	na:lugiṭigi	na:lugiṭilɛ
ayyidu	(five)			
	human :	ayigguru	ayiggirigi	—
	non–human :	ayyidu	ayyidiṭigi	ayyidiṭilɛ
a:ru	(six)			
	human :	a:ruguru	a:rugirigi	—
	non–human :	a:ru	a:riṭigi	a:riṭilɛ
yo:ḍu	(seven)			
	human :	yo:ḍuguru	yo:ḍugirigi	—
	non–human :	yo:ḍu	yo:ḍiṭigi	yo:ḍiṭilɛ

nu:ru 'hundred' has the dative *nu:ṭigi* with reference to non-human. *a:yiram* 'thousand', an *-m* ending form, behaves like *-m* ending, nouns yielding forms such as *a:yira:nigi* 'dative' etc. All other forms show no change as to gender.

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SUGGESTION FOR A TULU LEXICON

M. M. Bhat

Tulu is one of the important languages of the Dravidian group of languages. There are about 75 lakhs of people who speak this language. These people are called Tuluvas and the region is called Tulu Nadu lying between Coondapur in the North and Chandragiri River in the South. Tuluvas have their own cultural heritage. It is unfortunate that much of its literature is oral handed down to posterity. They have not been put in writing. Tulu does not have a script of its own. That may be one of the reasons for paucity in literary work. It may be interesting to state in passing a matter relating to its antiquity. The Tamil Sangam work Akananuru refers to a town called Mutur in these words :

> "The famous leading town Mutur consisting of several cities gives asylum to all needy new comers just like Tuluva country with its plentiful groves wherein the peacocks with their spread out tails have on them enchanting eyes round in shape like a pare (drum)".

This takes the antiquity of Tulu to the early millennium of the Christian era.

As in the case of other Dravidian languages it was the Missionary zeal that was responsible for its revitalization.

The Basel Missionaries who arrived in the District of South Kanara in 1834 wrote and published some books in Tulu language. They were printed in Kannada script. The New testament was completed in 1847.

Brigel wrote a Tulu grammar in 1872. Tulu-English Dictionary first of its kind was published by Manner in 1886. This was enlarged by the Department of Kannada in the University of Madras in 1967.

It is a matter of regret that the Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson has not taken notice of Tulu. Kannada poets of Tulunadu wanted their work to be judged and praised by Tuluvas. Ratnakaravarni in the prefatory verses of his magnumopus says :

"Yenciporlunduendu Tuluvaru meyubbi kelabekanna."

The Tuluvas should say "how beautiful and listen to it in elation."

I have drifted a bit. I am to place before you a few suggestions regarding a lexicon for Tulu.

The first task must be to collect all the lexical items prevalent among different communities and regions in Tulu Nadu. The work is extremely difficult as there is no written text or work. Field workers will have to go round several dialectal areas and collect folk songs, paddanas, sandis etc. They may use tape recorders. If they have phonetic training that would be better. After collecting the various dialectal lexical items, it will be possible to arrive at standard Tulu vocables which is a desideratum. The different dialect forms be given different codes to distinguish from one another.

There should be a pilot investigator who should be a trained linguist. There is to be an orientation course for the field workers.

Perhaps for special Tulu Sounds Kannada alphabet may have to be enlarged.

Vocational terms, agricultural terms, names of flora and fauna etc. are to be collected.

A classified vocabularay list of about 4000 words may be prepared as a guide. Field workers have to obtain the Tulu equivalent words pertaining to worship, religion, festivals, etc., to be collected. Stories, and proverbs must also be collected.

It may take one year for field workers to collect lexical data.

The Chief editor with two deputy editors may supervise and finalise the lexical corpus.

(Seminar on Little known Languages – Tulu.)

EXCERPT FROM THE WELCOME SPEECH - SEMINAR ON LITTLE KNOWN LANGUAGES - TULU

R. C. Hiremath
Dharwar

The tract of the land on the Western coast of Peninsular India consisting of the modern district of South Kanara and the coastal belt of North Kanara is historically known as the famous Tulunadu. The names Dakshina Kannada and Uttara Kannada were given by the British administration around 1860.

Aganaanuuru, a Sangam literary work of early centuries of Christian era refers to this region as Tulunadu (Agam, 15) while Barkur Inscription (SII. Vol. VII No. 202) of the reign of Bankideva-I calls it Tulu Vishaya. During the Vijayanagar period this region has been referred to as Tulu Rajya and Tulu Desha. Outside inscriptions and references call this region Aluvakheda. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of the middle 2nd Century A. D. refers to this region as Olokhora which has been identified as Aluvakheda. Tulu Nadu had been ruled by Aluva kings since then. These kings were called by various names such as Alupa, Aluva, Alva, Alpa and Aluka. Attempts have also been made to identify this land with Satiya Puto, of Satya Putra, one of the five kingdoms outside Asokan Empire like Chola, Chera, Pandya, Tamraparni and Staya Puto. This is not tenable on historical grounds but it is a fact that early rules of Tulunadu were very powerful. The bantas of Tulunadu were noted for their valour as the Kurgisees of Kodagu Nadu. Nannan, one of the earliest rulers of Tulu Nadu who might have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of Christian era, was a great warrior. He carried his expeditions in Tamilnadu and had annexed the northern boundaries of Tamilnadu to his kingdom. Another king by name Pashupati was again a great warrior.

Looking at the valour of these powerful kings Dr. Saletore tried to derive the word Tulu from the Dravidian root Tul. 'to fight'. This is not acceptable to the historians. Just as one section of the Tulu speaking people are brave, majority of them are noted for their weakness, mildness and gently quality. Even today the word Tulu in Tulu language means gentle.

Though ruled by powerful Alupas, very soon this land came under the sway of the Karnataka Kings. As noticed in the first Kannada inscription of Halmidi, the king of alupagana = alupas, Pashupati by name was feudatory of the Kadamba king. It appears that even during the reign of Mayur Varma of Kadamba family, this land came under his control and the Brahmins from the Ahichihatra whom he sent for have settled here. The parashurama legend is after all a legend to which we need not pay much historical importance. But the lowland which had waters on the western side and thick forests of Sahyadri to the Eastern side was with a great difficulty chopped off and made favourable for settlement for settlers *out of the people.*

From the time of the Kadambas Tulu Nadu appears to have been under the control of various Dynasties of Karnataka. The Chalukyas of Badami who conquered Banavasi 12000 were also the masters of this land. The Mahakura Pillar inscription of the Badami Chalukya King Mangalesh (597/8–609/10 A. D.) dated 602 A. D and the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin – II clearly indicate respectively that Kirtivarman–I conquered Aluka and Vaijayanti and Pulakeshi annexed Ganga and Alupa Desh to his kingdom by his dignity and valour.

Thus the dynasties of Karntaka like the Kadambas, Chalukyas of Badmi, and Rashakutas of Manyakaheta had their sway over Tulu Nadu, until at last it became a part and parcel of the great Vijaya Nagar Empire.* After the fall of the Vijayanagar, the Nayakas of Keladi like Sadaschivaraya, Channanmaji, Venkatappa Nayaka, Shivappa Nayaka ruled this part and then it came under

*Even Prior to the Vijayanagar Empire, the Hysalas, their immediate predecessers were ruling this part including a part of Kerala. Kaṇṇanur was a temporary capital of Hoysala Sovideva (Vishnu Vardhana) in 1145. A. D. when Mallikarjuna, the pattern of our great grammarian Kesiraja composed his famous work Sūktisudharnava – a necter ocean of wise sayings of ancient bards. This Sovideva is called cholaraja Pratisthapanachage and for his Vinodartham (amusement) the work was composed.

the control of Hyder and Tippu and finally it came under the British administration.

During the course of these two thousand years, though several dynasties ruled, Tulu has maintained its identity. It has nourished Shaivism, Vaishnavism (Dwaita), Veerashaivism and Jainism and built up a culture of its own which is quite distinct from the rest. Its art, architecture, sculpture, folk dance, Yakshagana have special features of their own. They have thus a distinct place in the cultural history of India.

As language, Tulu is one of the five cultivated major Dravidian languages, the other four being Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu. This language has great potentiality and has maintained many of the features of the Proto-Dravidian language.

It is our keen desire that such a language which has a hoary past must be studied properly. The DLA and the ISDL have therefore organised this Seminar.

ZVELEBIL'S "TENSELESS" VERBS

D. N. S. Bhat
ISDL

It appears to me that the recent IJDL article, (XI, 1:184–190, 1982), Zvelebil is rather instructive to research students, in the sense that it contains a number of unsupported generalizations and hasty conclusions that the student must be *beware of*. Further, the transcription of a recorded field-work included to the article is the type of eliciting that the student must *aviod* doing at any cost.

The Main Claim:

Zvelebil's main claim in the article is that Jenu Kurumba, a language (or dialect) spoken in the Nilgiri area, "manifests a tenseless verb". He considers this language to be "the only Dravidian language which does not have tense as a morphological category". This "fact", according to him, is rather striking, and deserves the attention of not only the Dravidianists but of linguists in general.

According to Natanasabapathy (1976:450) (who, according to Zvelebil, is a joint, though independent, discoverer of the above "fact"), the claim that verbs of this language are tenseless can, at present, be applied to finite forms only; he suspects that there may be tense distinctions in the non-finite forms. Since Zvelebil does not produce any counter evidence in this latter respect, his generalization that the language does not have tense as a *morphological* category is clearly hasty and unwarranted.

Further, if it actually turns out that Jenu Kurumba does distinguish between past and nonpast participles, then it would be quite probable that it uses periphrastic constructions containing those participial forms for indicating past-nonpast distinction as well. It is not possible to examine this possibility at the moment

without doing additional field-work because, the sentences used by Zvelebil in his recorded interview are unfit for eliciting such usages– they all happen to be non-minimal. For example, the pair "I came yesterday vs. I will come tomorrow" has two distinct items (the verb and the adverb) in which the same meaning distinction has been expressed. Instead, if he had used a pair like "I came in the evening vs. I will come in the evening", he would have succeeded in obtaining the comparable syntactic or morphological device that the language under study is using for expressing that distinction.

A careful study of two or more distinct natural languages would reveal to us that they do not differ from one another in their ability to express a given meaning distinction, but rather in the nature of the syntactic or morphological device that they choose for doing so. For example, some languages use prefixes or prepositions for expressing case distinctions whereas others use suffixes or post-positions. Some even use the device of modifying the noun itself for this purpose. If a scholar makes only a superficial comparison of two such languages, he would easily be misled by the fact that a device commonly used by one of them is missing in the other language: he would then rush to the mistaken conclusion that the latter language lacks the ability to express the meaning distinction commonly denoted by the missing device.

Past in Non-past:

As I have pointed out elsewhere (Bhat 1976, 1980), the general tendency among the Dravidian languages is to express temporal distinctions through various kinds of periphrastic constructions. Some of these constructions coalesce into simpler paradigms, but a careful study would generally reveal the underlying periphrastic construction. I have pointed out further that the Dravidianists have generally failed to take note of this important Dravidian feature. They generally pick up the simple-looking paradigms for comparison and reconstruct proto-forms on the basis of their superficial similarities. Periphrastic constructions are generally overlooked, unless they occur in certain important functions like indicating the non-past or negative meanings.

Zvelebil argues that the use of past stems for forming present-future forms in Kota and Toda is "drift", characteristic of the Nilgiri linguistic area – a drift involving the "extension" of the past stem to non-past functions; he considers the situation in Jenu Kurumba to be the "ultimate" stage in this drift: where past forms have apparently replaced *all* the remaining tense forms.

As I have pointed out in Bhat (1976:252), the use of past stems for forming nonpast verbal forms is not peculiar to the Nilgiri area. It occurs in Kannada as well. The Old Kannada nonpast form is regularly derived by adding the future forms of the verb *a:gu* 'to become' to the past participial forms of the main verb. (bandapan 'he comes)'. This construction has coalesced into a simple verbal paradigm (past stem personal suffixes) in all the modern non-coastal dialects of Kannada; the only change that affected it is that its earlier nonpast indicative meaning has changed into nonpast subjunctive in these modern dialects; further, a new nonpast indicative form (barutta:ne 'he comes') (also based on an earlier periphrastic construction) has taken its place in most of these dialects.

Notice that the personal suffixes occurring in these nonpast forms (both subjunctive and indicative) show a long vowel, whereas those occurring in the past forms show a short vowel. The basis of this vowel length in the former is clearly the underlying periphrastic construction in which the consonant p has changed to h and then to zero leading to vowel length. Notice further that the present forms of Alu Kurumba given by Zvelebil (1982:189) also show this vowel length in personal suffixes, whereas the preterite forms do not.

The so-called "future" forms of Toda and Kota (I think they are actually nonpast subjunctive forms) with the suffix kv – gv or k is paralleled by a similar "future" form in Kannada with the suffix g – v.

In view of these correlations between Toda-Kota forms on the one hand, Kannada forms on the other, occurrence of past stems in nonpast forms need not be considered as a drift towards tenselessness, or anything of that sort. It only forms part of the regular device used by the various Dravidian languages for filling up gaps left behind by various sound and meaning changes -gaps occurring in the set of syntactic constructions that are being used by the language for expressing the various temporal distinctions.

Notice that even in English past forms occur in constructions denoting nonpast meanings: I *would* be there in the evening; however, this does not lead us to the conclusion that English too is drifting towards "tenselessness".

Time and Tense:

While using the terms past, present, future, nonpast, etc., Zvelebil gives the impression that the verbal forms referred to by them have very specifiable temporal connotations. He fails to

notice that they only indicate the *tense* of a form, and not necessarily the *time* that the form refers to. His puzzle about a *past* (tense) form being used in the nonpast (time) meaning is actually a result of this failure to distinguish between time and tense.

The temporal (or time) distinctions that a language will have to express through its various lexical and syntactic devices would depend upon a number of factors such as, for example, the nature of the event that is being expressed (whether it is momentary, durative, or resultative), the illocutionary force that has been used in uttering the sentence (whether it is a question, order, presumption, negation, performance, etc.), whether the statement is habitual or specific, whether it refers to an event or a state, and so on. For example, a momentary event can occur either before the act of speaking (past) or after it (future), but it cannot be simultaneous to the act of speaking (present). The only exception to this, I think, is the performative use (I bless you!) in which the act of speaking is itself the event expressed. Whereas a state or a durative event can be past, present, or future (time).

It is interesting to note that languages make generally the same set of *tense* distinctions in the case of almost all their vebal bases (a few "modal" verbs would be exceptions to this rule), and hence they are forced to make various types of adjustments while expressing the *time* distinctions with the help of these tense forms. This is because, the expression of time distinctions cannot be regular like the indication of tense distinctions. In Kannada, for example, the nonpast tense form has a present time meaning when used with a stative verb (pri:tisutte:ne 'I am loving (the girl) now)', whereas it has a future time meaning when used with a momentary verb (he:ɭutte:ne 'I will tell (her) later').

Thus the number of *tense* forms occurring in a given language need not necessarily indicate its ability or inability to express certain *time* distinctions. A language with only a single *tense* form can express even a three-fold *time* distinction, as for example, with the help of periphrastic constructions. Zvelebil's translation of the Jenu Kurumba *tense* form bannenu as 'I came/come/shall come' clearly reflects his failure to distinguish between time and tense.

Time Adverbs:

This point becomes even more clear when we find Zvelebil suggesting that in Jenu Kurumba "time is expressed through the time adverbs like na:ɭega 'tomorrow', ninne 'yesterday', i'ga 'now', etc.". To a certain extent this is true of other Dravidian languages

as well. In the case of Kannada, for example, the use of the above adverbs in a sentence would indicate that the reference time (i.e. the time indicated by the adverb) is respectively posterior to, prior to, and simultaneous with the speaker's time (i.e. the time of actually uttering the sentence); the event time (i.e. the time when the event that is being reported occurred), in all these cases, would be simultaneous with the reference time.

Now the question that needs to be raised is whether Jenu Kurumba is able to convey any *additional* temporal distinctions with the help of its time adverbs. For example, can the adverbs indicate the relation between speaker's time and event time in Jenu Kurumba? In the sentence pair "I came at two o'clock vs. I will come at two o'clock" the tense distinction in the verb indicates whether the event of coming occurred before my uttering that sentence or whether it is going to occur after the utterance; that is, it indicates whether the event time precedes or follows the speaker's time. How does Jenu Kurumba indicate this distinction? Unless and until Zvelebil is able to produce specific time adverbs with the help of which such additional distinctions are being expressed by the language under study, his above statement that time is expressed by adverbs rather than by verbs in Jenu Kurumba will have to be considered as hasty and unwarranted.

Amusement:

Lastly, I wish to point out that the transcription of a part of the field-recording provided by Zvelebil in his article indicates that his approach to data elicitation is as hasty and confused as his generalizations examined above. He considers the transcription to be "instructive" and "amusing". Personally, I did not find it amusing, either because it has appeared in a serious journal like IJDL rather than in *Punch*, or because I lack the sense of humour. However, I do agree with Zvelebil that it is instructive, but only in the sense that it indicated how a slip-shed field-work can thoroughly mislead and confuse the linguist. In fact, the transcription reminds me of the case of a linguist who, while trying to elicit the word for the tree in a tribal language succeeded, rather unknowingly, in eliciting the word for his forefinger.

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LINGUA DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES: QUESTIONNAIRE

Bernard COMRIE, *University of Cambridge*
Norval SMITH, *University of Amsterdam*

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INTRODUCTION

In view of the increasing interest in the study of universals of language and the general need for a wider range of data on which to test linguistic hypotheses, and in view of the fact that most descriptions of languages or parts of languages which are at present available or are in the course of production are structured in terms of one of the current theories of language and thereby often do not answer the questions which would be posed by linguists of a different theoretical persuasion, there seems to be a serious need for the production of purely descriptive studies which will provide a wide variety of data about individual languages.

The aim of the present series is to meet this need by providing descriptions of individual languages and language-groups, ranging from descriptions of individual phenomena to overall descriptions, arranged in such a way that the information on the language or language-group concerned should be readily accessible to linguists working on language universals, language typology, or comparative syntax, morphology or phonology. To this end, it is important that there should be some standard framework for the series as a whole, so that linguists, once familiar with the general framework, can readily find the appropriate information about the particular language covered in a given volume in the series. It is important that the general framework be sufficiently flexible to enable any arbitrary language to be described within this framework and to avoid building into the general framework unjustified presuppositions about language universals, which it is the aim of the series to establish rather than to assume in advance. The ultimate aim is a framework which would act as a catalyst in the elicitation of all information that could be of interest for theoretical work in the above-mentioned fields, in terms of any of the modern theories of language. The questionnaire represents our attempt at formulating a general framework that meets these conditions.

Needless to say, any such general framework can only be an attempt at meeting the conditions of accessibility, flexibility, and completeness (given above), and with the passage of time we should expect to have to modify several of the assumptions behind the questionnaire in the light of fresh data. Thus the questionnaire should be interpreted as a guide to description, rather than as a sraitjacket; in some instances the answer to a particular question in the questionnaire may well involve a critical discussion of the question itself, before a satisfactory answer can be given.

In many instances, particularly where the questionnaire asks about a list of categories, we have allowed our numbering system to be open-ended (with the last number referring to 'other instances of the same general phenomenon'), so that categories, etc , which we have inadvertently omitted may be readily inserted without altering the general layout. In other cases where this possibility has not been explicitly created, any additional types of material should be added to the end of the appropriate section, with the numbering following on from the last number used. We do, however, wish to maintain the general characteristic of this series, which is that, while presentation of data and theorizing about data are perhaps never completely divorceable from each other, the emphasis of the present series is definitely on accurate and orderly presentation of data as a prerequisite to theoretical discussion

Many of the questions are of the following form : the author is asked whether a given category exists or not in the language concerned, and, if the category does exist, he is asked how this category is expressed. Arguably, it is possible even in languages which do not formally possess the category concerned to find some circumlocution by which an equivalent distinction may be expressed. Clearly, for our enterprise not to be vacuous, this is not the sense of 'category' we intend here. Rather, we are referring to distinctions which are grammaticalized in the language in question. Some examples will illustrate this point. Slovenian is said to have a category of dual number, as in *kónja* 'two horses', cf. *kònj* '(one) horse', *kónji* '(more than two) horses'. English, on the other hand, does not have a category of dual number, although it is of course quite possible to translate *kónja* into English, as *two horses*. The difference between *kónja* and *two horses* lies in the fact that the meaning of the latter is completely predictable from the lexical meaning of its component elements and general rules of English syntax for combining such elements, whence there is no additional category of dual number involved. In Slovenian, however, there is no way of predicting from the component parts of *kónja* that it will mean 'two horses'. A similar example is the existence of a special category of inclusive first person plural versus exclusive first person plural in, for instance, Maori, but not in English, e.g. Maori *taatou* 'we (including you)', *maatou* 'we (excluding you)'. Again, this distinction can be expressed in English, e.g. by specifying *including you* or *excluding you*, but again, such English forms have a meaning predictable from the meaning of their component parts and the construction into which they enter, unlike Maori *taatou* versus *maatou*

Other questions are of a different form. Here we ask not about the presence or absence of a given category, but about how a particular concept is expressed in the language. The concepts involved are in general of a relational nature, e. g. *instrument, subject, standard of comparison.* It is assumed that in most cases the meaning involved will not be predictable from the constituent parts of the elements expressing such concepts, while even if this may be the case, the manner of expression of such concepts will still be of interest from the point of view of comparative syntax. For example, if we take the concept (category) *agent of a passive sentence* we discover that this is marked in English by the preposition *by*, in Scots by the preposition *wi'* ('with'), in Latin by *ab* ('from') plus the ablative case, in Ancient Greek by *hypó* ('under') plus the genitive case, in Dutch by *door* ('through'). In no case it is immediately forecastable from the other meanings of the prepositions concerned. With this one might compare one of the expressions of comparison (e.g. 'stone is heavier than wood') in Malay, as *kayu, batu, bĕrat batu* (literally 'wood, stone, heavy stone', i.e. of wood and stone, stone is the heavy one): despite the absence of an explicit comparative marker, this construction is readily interpreted as a comparative (not necessarily implying that stone is, in absolute terms, heavy, or that wood is not heavy), moreover it is a natura way of expressing comparison in Malay, unlike other conceivable paraphrases. Such examples, too, should be included in answers to the questionnaire.

Yet other questions are general questions on basic sentence structure, and the relevance of such questions to all languages is self-evident.

As far as the first type of question is concerned, it may be that the use of a given category is optional rather than obligatory: in Slovenian, the use of the dual is obligatory, i.e. dual *kónja* means 'two horses' and plural *kónji* means 'more than two horses'. In Ancient Greek, on the other hand, use of the dual is optional. In other words, the meaning of the plural is 'more than one'. Similarly, in Chinese (Mandarin, Peking dialect), plural number of (certain) nouns can be expressed by means of the suffix-*men*, but this is an optional category, e.g. *péngyou* 'friend, friends', *péngyou-men* 'friends'.

In answer to the various questions in the questionnaire about the existence of categories, etc., it is important to be as explicit about the non-existence of a category in a particular language as about the existence of a category. Thus in many descriptions it is

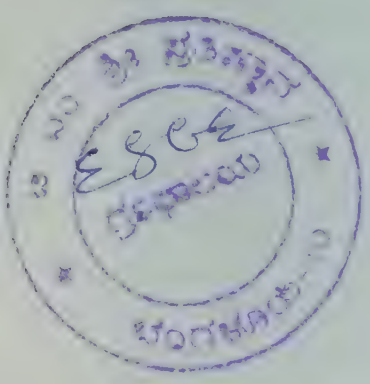
impossible to know, from the mere fact that a certain category is not mentioned, whether the language in question lacks that category, or whether the linguist making the description has, deliberately or inadvertently, not mentioned that the category in question exists, or indeed whether the linguist is unaware whether it exists, or even whether he has not attempted to ascertain the fact of its existence or nonexistence.

Given that the aim of this series is to present information on individual languages for the use of linguists interested in universals and/or typological and/or genetic comparison, the general direction of description within the questionnaire is from function to form. This will mean, in many instances, that the various functions of a given form are scattered throughout the description, e.g. the Latin accusative both in answer to the question on direct objects and in answer to the question on motion towards, etc. Clearly, this kind of description must be supplemented by some means of reeovering from the description all the functions of each particular form. This will in itself be of value to linguists working on universals, e.g. to test a hypothesis that there is a close relationship, independent of the individual language, between direct object and motion towards, often reflected in their morphological identity. Thus in addition to answers on the questionnaire, or incorporated into the answers to the questionnaire if possible (for instance, by cross-references), there must also be an index of forms–possibly as paradigms in the case of languages with complex morphologies–enabling the reader to go equally from form to function.

It is not the intention that the studies in the series consist directly of answers to the questions. It is rather intended that the questionnaire provide the framework for a description – a description where the emphasis lies, as we have already implied, on presentation rather than on interpretation. The emphasis should also be placed on fullness of description rather than on brevity. It may well be desirable that some information be given in more than one section, and wherever it is helpful use should be made of cross-referencing. We have already given one example of when this is necessary.

A number of questions are phrased in 'process' terms. The author of a particular study should not assume that he is being compelled to recognize the existence of processes. He should regard such questions as purely so phrased for convenience. Many questions will seem self-evident and uninteresting to some. We cannot, however, sufficiently emphasize the point that the answers to such questions are of critical interest to other researchers.

Each point should be amply illustrated by examples from the language, with glosses. Items in the language or dialect described should normally be presented in the orthography of that language, if it uses a Latin-based alphabet, or a Latin-based transcription system. Where the orthography fails to represent certain phonemically relevant distinctions, these should be indicated either by means of diacritics added to the orthographic representation (if the language does not already make significant use of diacritics), or by means of an accompanying broad phonetic transcription. In the section on phonology all examples should be accompanied by the relevant phonemic or phonetic transcription (in, respectively obliques and square brackets) in terms of the IPA phonetic alphabet. In sections not dealing specifically with phonetic detail it may be possible to use an adaptation of the IPA system for typographic convenience (for instance, by using *š* rather than *ʃ*, or *w* rather than *ɰ*). Any departures from the IPA system should, however, be made quite explicit and cleared with the editors in advance.



QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Syntax

1.1. *General questions*

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. Does the language make any difference between direct speech and quoted speech? If so, how is this indicated?

1.1.1.2. How are the different types of interrogative sentence marked? In this and similar sections the linguist should pay attention to the following types of phenomena:

word order differences
affixes, clitic particles, tag-questions, etc.
suprasegmental phenomena: intonation, etc.

At least the following types of interrogative sentence will probably occur:

1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions (i.e. questions to which the answer is *yes* or *no*) (for questions of focusing, see 1.9):

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral (no predisposition to expect either answer)

1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading:

1.1.1.2.1.2.1. expecting the answer *yes*

1.1.1.2.1.2.2. expecting the answer *no*

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative

1.1.1.2.2. Question-word questions (e.g. *What do you want?*)

1.1.1.2.2.1. What elements of the sentence can be questioned?

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. which constituents of the main clause?

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. which constituents of which types of subordinate clauses? Can elements which normally appear in the position next to a sub-ordinating conjunction be questioned? Answer this question also for nonfinite clauses and nominalized clauses.

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. which constituents of noun phrases?

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. which elements of prepositional phrases?

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. which elements of coordinate structures?

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. is it possible to question more than one thing in a sentence? If so which combinations of the types discussed above are possible?

1.1.1.2.2.2. What happens to the questioned element?

1.1.1.2.2.2.1. no change

1.1.1.2.2.2.2. moved to initial position

1.1.1.2.2.2.3. moved to preverbal position

1.1.1.2.2.2.4. clefted

1.1.1.2.2.2.5. forms the intonation nucleus

1.1.1.2 2.2.6. other possibilities

1.1.1.2.2.2.7. if the questioned element is moved, can other elements of the clause be moved with it? if so, which?

1.1.1.2 2.2 8. if more than one element is questioned describe what happens

1.1.1.2.3. Echo-questions (i.e. a question asking for clarification on what the previous speaker has said)

1.1 1.2.3.1. Yes-no echo-questions, e.g.

Speaker A: I'm going to the harbour.
Speaker B: *(You're going) to the harbour?*
Speaker A: Yes.

1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo-questions, e.g.

Speaker A: I'm going to the harbour.
Speaker B: *(You're going) where?*
Speaker A: To the harbour.

or

Speaker A: Why is Bill shooting at the tin?
Speaker B: *Why is who shooting at what?*
Speaker A: Why is Bill shooting at the tin?

1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes-no question echo-questions, e.g.

Speaker A: Are you going to the harbour?
Speaker B: *Am I going to the harbour?* I suppose so.

1.1.1.2.3.4. Question-word question echo-questions, e.g.

Speaker A: Where are you going?
Speaker B: *Where am I going?* To the harbour.

1.1.1.2.3.5. Can all elements of the sentence be subject to echo-questioning? Which cannot?

1.1.1.2.3.6. Can more than one element at a time be subject to echo-questioning? If so, are there any restrictions?

1.1.1.2.3.7. How are the different elements (i.e. different word-types) questioned?

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

1.1.1.2 4.1. Are answers marked as a distinct speech act? Describe for:

1.1.1.2.4.1.1. yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.4.1.2. question-word questions (for instance, in Hungarian the focus of the answer to a question-word question must occupy the same preverbal position as the question-word in the question)

1.1.1.2.4.1.3. echo-questions

1.1.1.2.4.2. Can answers take the form of incomplete sentences? Describe for:

1.1.1.2.4.2.1. yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.4.2.1.1. Are there words for 'yes', 'no', 'may be'? If not, what form does the minimum answer take?

1.1.1.2.4.2.1.2. If there are, how are they used in reply to negative and other leading questions?

1.1.1.2.4.2.2. question-word questions

1.1.1.3. How are the different types of imperative sentence marked?

1.1.1.3.1. Is there a special (positive) imperative form?

1.1.1.3.1.1. in what person-number combinations is this possible?

1.1.1.3.1.2. are there different degrees of imperative?

1.1.1.3.2. Is there a special negative imperative form?

1.1.1.3.2.1. in what person-number combinations is this possible?

1.1.1.3.2.2. are there different degrees of negative imperative?

1.1.1.3.3. Are there other means of expressing the above types of imperative?

1.1.1.4. Are there other distinct sentence-types in the language?

1.1.1.5. Are any sentence-types used regularly in functions other than their normal ones (e.g. questions as requests)? Describe any restrictions on such indirect speech acts, and any means of indicating them, e.g. intonation.

1.1.2. Subordination.

1.1.2.1. Are there any general markers of subordination, e.g. word-order, particles (in what position?), verb modification, etc.? In the following, bear in mind that certain phenomena may be restricted to main clauses; if so, describe (e.g. English a) *he ran away*; b) *away he ran*; c) *I think that he ran away*; d) **I think that away he ran*).

1.1.2.2. Noun clauses

1.1.2.2.1. How are noun clauses marked in general? What is their position relative to their superordinate clause?

1.1.2.2. Are there different types of noun clause? Specify.

1.1.2.2.3. How are indirect statements marked?

1.1.2.2.4. How are indirect questions marked? Answer with reference to section 1.1.1.2.

1.1.2.2.5. How are indirect commands marked? Answer with reference to section 1.1.1.3.

1.1.2.2.6. Can any of the above types of clause be nonfinite (infinitive, participial construction, nominalization, etc.)? For each different possibility answer the following questions:

1.1.2.2.6.1. which verbal categories are lost and which are retained? (see 2.1.3)

1.1.2.2.6.2. how is the verb made nonfinite?

1.1.2.2.6.3. which arguments may be omitted?

1.1.2.2.6.4. are the arguments that are retained changed in any way.

1.1.2.2.6.5. is any morphological material inserted? for instance, prepositions before arguments.

1.1.2.2.6.6 can adverbials be present, and if so do they take the form of adjectives or are they changed in other ways? discuss for different types of adverbial.

1.1.2.2.6.7. are nominalizations marked by a special word order?

1.1.2.3. Adjective clauses (relative clauses)

1.1.2.3.1. How are adjective clauses marked?

1.1.2.3.2. Is there a distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses? Specify.

1.1.2.3.3. What is the position of the head noun?

1.1.2.3.3.1. before the relative clause

1.1.2.3.3.2. after the relative clause

1.1.2.3.3.3. internal to the relative clause; where precisely?

1.1.2.3.4. Is the element in the relative clause corresponding to the headnoun (i.e. the relativized element)

1.1.2.3.4.1. preserved in full? optionally/obligatorily

1.1.2.3.4.2. replaced by 1. a personal pronoun? optionally/obligatorily

2. a relative pronoun? optionally/obligatorily

3. an invariant particle? optionally/obligatorily

1.1.2.3.4.3. deleted?

1.1.2.3.4.4. other treatment

1.1.2.3.5. Is the element resulting from the process described in 1.1.2.3.4.

1.1.2.3.5.1. preserved in the same position?

1.1.2.3.5.2. moved to the position next to the noun phrase containing the head noun?

1.1.2.3.5.3. moved to another position?

1.1.2.3.6. Do headless relative clauses occur? (e.g. *I saw what he wanted)*

1.1.2.3.6.1. Are these marked in any special way?

1.1.2.3.7. What elements can be relativized? Section 1.1.1.2.2.1, and ask the corresponding questions where relevant.

1.1.2.3.8. If the relativized element is moved, can other elements of the clause be moved with it? If so, which?

1.1.2.3.9. Can any types of relative clause be made nonfinite (e.g. by making the verb a participle)? Which types? See section 1.1.2.2.6 and ask the corresponding questions.

1.1.2.4. Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1. How are adverb clauses marked in general? What is their position relative to their superordinate clause?

1.1.2.4.2. How are the following types of adverb clause marked?

1.1.2.4.2.1. Time. Is there any distinction made between 1. past
2. present
3. future

1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner

1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose

1.1.2.4.2.4. Cause

1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition

1.1.2.4.2.6. Result

1.1.2.4.2.7. Degree 1. Comparative
2. Equative

1.1.2.4.3. Can any of the above be made nonfinite? If so, see section 1.1.2.2.6, and ask the corresponding questions for each type.

1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

1.1.2.5.1. Is there sequence of tenses? If so, state which tenses in the main clause require which tense in which types of subordinate clause.

1.2. Structural questions

1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1. Copular sentenees

1.2.1.1.1. Copular sentences with nominal complement

1.2.1.1.1.1. is there an overt *be*-copula? optional/obligatory

1.2.1.1.1.2. how is the predicate noun marked?

1.2.1.1.1.3. give the order of the constituents.

1.2.1.1.2. Copular sentences with adjectival complement

1.2.1.1.2.1. is there an overt *be*-copula ? optional/obligatory

1.2.1.1.2.2. how is the complement adjective marked ?

1.2.1.1.2.3. give the order of the constituents

1.2.1.1.3. Copular sentences with adverbial complement

1.2.1.1.3.1. is there an overt *be*-copula ? optional/obligatory

1.2.1.1.3.2. how is the complement adverbial marked ?

1.2.1.1.3.3. give the order of the constituents.

1.2.1.1.4. In the case of copular sentences without overt *be*-copula:

1.2.1.1.4.1. are the normal verbal categories expressed (e.g. tense, etc.) ?

1.2.1.1.4.2. if so, how is this done ? For example:

1.2.1.1.4.2.1. verbal affixes affixed to the complement element.

1.2.1.1.4.2.2. verbial affixes affixed to some the other element.

1.2.1.1.4.2.3. other means.

1.2.1.1.5. Is it the case that the *be*-copula can be/is omitted only in the least marked form, e.g. present tense, third person singular ?

1.2.1.1.6. Are there different types of copula ?

1.2.1.1.6.1. defining

1.2.1.1.6.2. identity

1.2.1.1.6.3. role

1.2.1.1.6.4. other (e.g. 'become')

1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

1.2.1.2.1. Are there verbs without subjects, or with dummy subjects ? optionally/obligatorily

1.2.1.2.2. Are there verbs without direct objects ? optionally/obligatorily ?

1.2.1.2.3. Is there a separate category indirect object (definable other than in semantic terms) which can be present? optionally/obligatorily

1.2.1.2.4. What other kinds of arguments of verbs are there ? optionally/obligatorily

1.2.1.2.5. What combinations of subject, direct object indirect object, and other arguments are found ?

1.2.1.2.6. Give the order of the constituents for the combination of verb, subject, and direct object, and also for all the other combinations described in questions 1.2.1.2.1–5 above.

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

1.2.1.3.1. Do the following types of adverbial occur ?

1.2.1.3.1.1. adverbs

1.2.1.3.1.2. prepositional or postpositional phrases

1.2.1.3.1.3. cases of noun phrases

1.2.1.3.1.4. adverbial clauses 1. finite
2. nonfinite

1.2.1.3.2. For each case describe the positional possibilities within the sentence. If different subtypes have different positional possibilities, e.g. different types of adverb, give details of these. If different types or subtypes occur in the same sentence, what is their relative order ?

1.2.1.3.3. Are adverbials obligatory in any constructions?

1.2 2. Adjective phrases

1.2.2.1. Is there any operational definition for the adjective phrase? By operational definition of a particular constituenr we mean a definition in terms such that by applying particular procedures it is possible to definitely decide whether a particular element falls under the definition or not. The operational definition of a constituent-type might be made in terms of its internal cohesion, its external mobility, or in terms of a particular type of affixation or marking.

1.2.2.2. Are there adjectives that take arguments ? optionally/ obligatorily

1.2.2.2.1. Are there adjectives that occur in subjectless sentences? optionally/obligatorily

1.2.2.2.2. Are there adjectives with direct objects? optionally/ obligatorily

1.2.2.2.3. Are there adjectives with indirect objects ? optionally/ obligatorily

1.2.2.2.4. What other kinds of arguments occur with adjectives ? optionally/obligatorily

1.2.2.2.5. What combinations of arguments are possible ?

1.2.2.2.6. Give the order of the constituents for all possible cases.

1.2.2.3. Which types of adverbials can modify adjectives ?

1.2.2.3.1. adverbs

1.2.2.3.2. prepositional or postpositional phrases

1.2.2.3.3. cases of noun phrases

1.2.2.3.4. adverbial clauses 1. finite
2. non–finite

1.2.2.3.5. for each of the above, describe the relative order of adverbial and adjective.

1.2.2.4. What is the order of the constituents if adjective, argument(s) and adverbial(s) are all present?

1.2.3. Adverbial phrase

1.2.3.1. Is there any operational definition for the adverbial phrase? If so, describe.

1.2.3.2. Which types of adverbials can modify adverbials?

1.2.3.2.1. adverbs

1.2.3 2.2. prepositional or postpositional phrases

1.2.3.2.3. cases of noun phrases

1.2.3.2 4. adverbial clauses 1. full
2. reduced

1.2.3 3. What is the relative order of the modifying and modified adverbials?

1.2 3.4. Are particular types of adverbial restricted to modifying particular types of adverbial?

1.2.4. Prepositional phrases/postpositional phrases

1.2.4.1. Is there any operational definition for the pre-/postpositional phrase?

1.2.4.2. Pre-/postpositional phrases and their arguments:

1.2.4.2.1. Can pre-/postpositions occur without arguments (objects), i.e. as 'adverbs'?

1.2.4.2.2. Can pre-/postpositions occur with more than one argument?

1 2.4.2.3. Can pre-/postpositions occur with arguments other than noun phrases?

1.2.4.2.4. Can pre-/postpositions be stranded (left behind) if their noun phrase is moved, e.g. English *who are you insulted by?*

1.2.4.3. What elements can modify pre-/postpositions?

1.2.4.3.1. adverbs

1.2.4.3.2. pre-/postpositional phrases

1.2.4.3.3. cases of noun phrases

1.2.4.3.4. adverbial clauses 1. finite
2. nonfinite

1.2.4.3.5. for each of the above describe the relative order of preposition/postposition and modifier.

1.2.4.4. Are there pre-/postpositions that can govern more than one case?

1.2.4.4.1. If so, does the choice of case depend on the verb?

1.2.5. Noun phrase (nominal constituent)

1.2.5.1. Is there an operational definition for the noun phrase? If so, describe.

1.2.5.2. Which of the following types of modifier occur?

1.2.5.2.1. adjective

1.2.5.2.2. relative clause

1.2.5.2.3. possessive 'adjective'

1.2.5.2.4. article

1.2.5.2.5. demonstrative 'adjective'

1.2.5.2.6. quantifiers

1.2.5.2.7. adverbials

1.2.5.2.8. emphatic words

1.2.5.2.9. comparative/superlative/equative structures

1.2.5.2.10. others

1.2.5.3. Is it possible to have more than one of each type of modifier, and if so, is there an obligatory or preferred order among subtypes (cf. the preferred orders among subtypes of adjectives in English)? Describe fully.

1.2.5.4. Are there combinations of various of the above types of modifier which are not admitted?

1.2.5.5. Describe the order of the head and the various modifiers to cover all the possibilities.

1.3. Coordination

1.3.1.1. What means are used for coordinating sentences – list all such means and give the relative order of the sentences and the coordinators:

1.3.1.1.1. and coordination

1.3.1.1.2. but coordination

1.3.1.1.3. or coordination

1.3.1.1.4. any other types

1.3.1.2. Give full details on the following possibilities:

1.3.1.2.1. one coordinator for each element that is coordinated

1.3.1.2.2. one less co-ordinator than the number of such elements

1.3.1.2.3. one co-ordinator irrespective of the number of such elements

1.3.1.3. What means are used for co-ordinating the major categories of the sentence?

1.3.1.4. Is the means used for expressing co-ordination and accompaniment (comitative) the same ?

1.3.1.5. Is there a degree of structural parallelism required between elements of the same category before they can be co-ordinated? If so, give full details.

1.3.1.5.1. Can adjectives and participial constructions be co-ordinated?

1.3.1.5.2. Can nouns and nominalized constructions be co-ordinated?

1.3.1.5.3. Can the various different types of adverbial be co-ordinated?

1.3.1.5.4. Can active and passive verbs be co-ordinated?

1.3 1.5.5. Are there any verb categories that cannot be co-ordinated with each other?

1.3.2 1. What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity in co-ordination?

1.3.2.2. What elements in the sentence cannot be omitted under identity in co-ordination?

1.3.3. Repeat the above two questions for the following major categories:

1.3.3.1. noun phrase

1.3.3.2. adjective phrase

1.3.3.3. adverb phrase

1.4. Negation

1.4.1. How is sentence negation expressed? List negation elements and give their position in the sentence. Describe also any effects they have on the rest of the sentence.

1.4.2. How is constituent negation expressed? List negation elements and give their position relative to the rest of the constituent.

1.4.3. If there is more than one negation element in a sentence is the result positive or negative?

1.4.4. In co-ordinated structures are the negation elements optionally or obligatorily attracted to the co-ordinator position, combining with the co-ordinator? If so, describe the forms that result form this.

1.4.5. Can the negation of a verb in a subordinate clause be expressed by the negation of the verb of the immediately higher clause/ a more distant higher clause?

1.5. Anaphora

1.5.1. By which of the following means is anaphora expressed?

1.5.1.1. deletion

1.5.1.2 deletion if the element concerned is marked on the verb

1.5.1.3. ordinary personal pronoun

1.5.1.4. reflexive pronoun

1.5.1.5. special anaphoric pronoun

1.5.1.6. other means: describe (e.g. *the former, the latter)*

1.5.2. In which of the following situations is anaphora expressed by means of the various above-mentioned types possible, and in which direction? Describe any restrictions within any of the possibilities listed below:

1.5.2.1. within the clause

1.5.2.2. between co-ordinate structures

1.5.2.3. between superordinate and subordinate clauses, including non-finite subordinate clauses:

1.5.2.3.1. in the order superordinate clause-subordinate clause

1.5.2.3.2. in the order subordinate clause-superordinate clause

1.5.2.4. between different subordinate clauses

1.5.2.5. between different sentences

1.5.3. Are elements located next to complementizers (subordinating conjunctions) subject to the above anaphoric processes?

1.6. Reflexives

1.6.1. By which of the following means is reflexivity expressed?

1.6.1.1. invariable reflexive pronoun (clitic or nonclitic)

1.6.1.2. variable reflexive pronoun (cf. 2.1.2.2.) (clitic or nonclitic)

1.6.1.3. verbal affix (cf. 2.1.3.6.8)

1.6.1.4. other means; specify in detail

1.6.2. Is the scope of reflexivity restricted to the clause, i.e. must antecedent and reflexive element be in the same clauses?

1.6.3. For intraclause reflexivity where the reflexive element is a verbal affix describe:

1.6.3.1. the possible syntactic functions of the antecedent.

1.6.3.1.1. subject only

1.6.3.1.2. other possibilities – if so, give details

1.6.3.2. the possible syntactic functions of the reflexive marker

1.6.3.2.1. direct object

1.6.3.2.2. indirect object

1.6.3.2.3. other possibilities – give details

1.6.3.3. restrictions on any combinations of 1.6.3.1 and 1.6.3.2

1.6.4. If the reflexive element is not a verbal affix, describe its positional possibilities within the clause. If the position of this element is not restricted to one place in the clause it may be simpler to answer this question in combination with the following one.

1.6.5. If the reflexive element is not a verbal affix, can the following relations between antecedent and reflexive exist ?

	Antecedent	Reflexive :
1.6.5.1.	subject	direct object
1.6.5.2.	,,	modifier of direct object
1.6.5.3.	,,	indirect object (zero- or case-marking)
1.6.5.4.	,,	modifier of such indirect object
1.6.5.5.	subject	indirect object (adposition- mar king)
1.6.5.6.	,,	modifier of such indirect object
1.6.5.7.	,,	copular complement
1.6.5.8.	,,	modifier of copular complement
1.6.5.9.	,,	subject-complement (cf. 2.1.1.2.1)
1.6.5.10.	,,	modifier of subject-complement
1.6.5.11.	,,	object-complement
1.6.5.12.	,,	modifier of object-complement
1.6.5.13.	,,	object of adjective
1.6.5.14.	,,	modifier of such object
1.6.5.15.	,,	agent in passive/pseudopassive/ impersonal constructions
1.6.5.16.	,,	modifier of such agent
1.6.5.17.	,,	element in other adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)
1.6.5.18.	,,	modifier of such element
1.6.5 19–36.	modifier of subject	as in 1–18*

*The numbers in the right-hand column of 1.6.5.19-212 all refer to the first 18 subsections of section 1.6.5.

1.6.5.37.	direct object	subject
1.6 5.38.	,,	modifier of subject
1.6 5.39–54.	,,	as in 3–18
1.6 5.55–56.	modifier of direct object	as in 37–38
1.6.5.57–72.	,,	as in 3–18
1.6.5.73–74.	indirect object (case/zero)	as in 37–38
1.6.5.75–76.	,,	as in 1–2
1.6.5.77–88.	,,	as in 7–18
1.6.5.89–90.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 37–38
1.6.5.91–92.	,,	as in 1–2
1.6.5.93–104.	,,	as in 7–18
1.6.5.105–106.	indirect object (adpositional)	as in 37–38
1.6.5.107–108.	,,	as in 1–2
1.6.5.109–120.	,,	as in 7–18
1.6.5.121–122.	modifier of such indirect objeet	as in 37–38
1.6.5.123–124.	,,	as in 1–2
1.6.5.125–136	,,	as in 7–18
1.6.5.137–138.	copular complement	as in 37–38
1.6 5.139–140.	,,	as in 17–18
1.6.5.141–142.	modifier of copular complement	as in 37–38
1.6 5.143–144.	,,	as in 17–18
1.6.5.145–146.	subject-complement	as in 37–38
1.6.5.147–148.	modifier of subject-complement	as in 37–38
1.6.5.149–150.	object-complement	as in 37–38
1.6.5.151–152.	modifier of object-complement	as in 37–38
1.6.5.153–154.	adjectival object	as in 37–38
1.6.5.155–156.	modifier of such object	as in 37–38
1.6.5.157–158.	agent in passive, etc.	as in 37–38
1.6.5.159–162.	,,	as in 3–6
1.6.5.163–164.	,,	as in 17–19
1 6.5.165–166.	modifier of agent	as in 37–38
1.6.5 167–170.	,,	as in 3–6
1.6.5.171–172.	,,	as in 17–18
1.6.5.173–174.	element in adverbial (cf. 17)	as in 37–38
1.6.5.175–192.	,,	as in 1–18
1 6.5.193–194.	modifier of such element	as in 37–38
1.6.5.195–212.	,,	as in 1–18

1.6.6. Can reflexive relations exist within nominalized clauses? If so, describe any deviations from the possibilities discussed in the previous questions on finite structures.

1.6.7. Can reflexive relations exist within ordinary noun phrases? Describe the possibilities.

1.6.8. Do reflexive structures occur without any overt antecedent, e.g. in nonfinite clauses, nominalizations, or ordinary noun phrases (e.g. Dutch *het verhaal over zichzelf was spannend* 'the (my, your, etc.) story about myself, yourself, etc. was exciting').

1.6.9. Do the reflexive forms have any other uses, e.g.

1.6.9.1. reflexive pronoun as emphatic pronoun?

1.6.9.2. reflexive verb-form as general detransitivizer?

1.6.9.3. others?

1.7. Reciprocals. Repeat the same questions as under reflexive (1.6).

1.8. Comparison

1.8.1. By which of the following means is comparison expressed?

1.8.1.1. comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison (e.g. bigger, *more* a man, etc.), and a comparative particle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison.

1.8.1.2. comparative element as above, and a case or preposition associated with the noun forming the standard of comparison.

1.8.1.3. a comparative practicle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison only.

1.8.1.4. other means — specify.

1.8.2. What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause it is subordinate to?

1.8.3. What elements cannot be omitted under these conditions?

1.8.4. What elements must be omitted under these conditions?

1.8.5. Is there a clear difference between the two types of comparative structure, if both exit:

1.8.5.1. comparative particle plus reduced comparative clause

1.8.5.2. preposition plus standard of comparison

1.8.6. How is correlative comparison expressed (e.g. English *the hotter the better; the more he eats the fatter he gets; the heavier the lorry, the worse the smell*)?

1.9. Equatives. Repeat the same questions as under comparatives (1.8).

1.10. Possession

1.10.1. How are sentences expressing possession constructed?

1.10.2. Is there any difference between the expression of alienable and inalienable possession or subtypes of these? Describe.

1.10.3. Is there any difference between the expression of temporary and permanent possession? Describe.

1.10.4. Is there any difference in the expression of possession relative to persons, animals, and things? Describe.

1.10.5 Is there any difference in the expression of present and past possession? Describe.

1.11. Emphasis

1.11.1. How is sentence emphasis expressed?

1.11.1.1. noncontradictory emphasis

1.11.1.2. contradictory emphasis

1.11.2.1. How is (a) noncontrastive constituent emphasis expressed? (b) contrastive

1.11.2.1.1. stress/accent

1.11.2.1.2. particle – if so, what is the position of this particle?

1.11.2.1.3. movement (without dislocation, cf. 1.11.2.6) of emphasized element to:

1.11.2.1.3.1. initial position

1.11.2.1.3.2. final position

1.11.2.1.3.3. preverbal position

1.11.2.1.3.4. other positions — specify

1.11.2.1.4. clefting (e.g. English *it's John that came*)

1.11.2.1.5. pseudoclefting (e.g. English *John's the one who came*)

1.11.2.1.6. dislocation (separated from rest of sentence by pause)

1.11.2.1.6.1. left dislocation

1.11.2.1.6.2. right dislocation

1.11.2.1.6.3. other dislocation — specify

1.11.2.1.7. other possibilities — specify

1.11.2.1.8. what possible combinations of 1.11.2.1.1 — 7 exist?

1.11.2.2. Which elements can be emphasized by the various means?

1.11.2.2.1.1. noun phrase

1.11.2.2.1.2. adjective (a) predicative, (b) attributive

1.11.2.2.1.3. verb

1.11.2.2.1.4. adverbial (specify for each type)

1.11.2.2.2.1. constituents of main clause

1.11.2.2.2.2. ,, subordinate clauses (a) finite, (b) non-finite (specify which types of subordinate clauses)

1.11.2.2.2.3. ,, noun phrase

1.11.2.2.2.4. ,, coordinate construction

1.11.2.2.2.5. more than one constituent simultaneously (specify which combinations are possible)

1.11.2.2.3. If movement is involved, is it the case that:

1.11.2.2.3.1. a copy of the emphasized element is left behind?

1.11.2.2.3.2. a proform of the emphasized element is left behind?

1.11.2.2.3.3. a particle is left behind?

1.11.2.2 3 4. nothing is left behind?

(Answer 1.11.2.2.3 separately for each word class and constituent type'.

1.11.3. How is the focus of a yes–no–question indicated? Compare 1.11.2 for possibilities.

1.12. Topic

(NB: Contributors are particularly asked not to confuse topicality and emphasis, for which latter see 1.11)

1.12.1. Are there means of indicating the topic of a sentence? If so, how?

1.12.1.1. particle (give its position)

1.12.1.2. movement, without dislocation, to

1.12.1.2.1. initial position

1.12.1.2.2. final position

1.12.1.2.3. other position (specify)

1.12 1.3. dislocation to

1.12.1.3.1. initial position

1.12.1.3.2. final position

1.12.1 3.3. other position

1.12.1.4. verb–agreement

1.12.1.5. other means (specify)

1.12.1.6. combinations of the above

1.12.2. Which elements can be topicalized by the various means?

1.12.2.1.1. noun phrase

1.12.2.1.2. adjective (a) predicative, (b) attributive

1.12.2.1.3. verb

1.12.2.1.4. adverbial (specify for each type)

1.12.2.2.1. constituent of main clause

1.12.2.2.2. constituent of subordinate clause (a) finite, (b) nonfinite (specify which types of subordinate clause)

1.12.2.2.3. constituent of noun phrases

1.12.2.2.4. constituent of coordinate constructions

1.12.2.2.5. more than one constituent simultaneously (specify which combinations are possible)

1.12.2.3. If movement is involved, is it the case that:

1.12.2.3.1. a copy of the topicalized element is left behind?

1.12.2.3.2. a proform of the topicalized element is left behind?

1.12.2.3.3. a particle is left behind?

1.12.2.3.4. nothing is left behind?

(Answer 1.12.2.3. separately for each word class and constituent type.)

1.12.3. For each of the above possibilities, state whether topicalization is obligatory or optional, and if optional the degree of preference for topicalizing.

1.13. Heavy Shift

1.13.1. Are there processes in the language by which structures consisting of a head with either a large number of adjuncts, or one or more complex adjuncts — in other words a 'heavy' structure — are optionally or obligatorily moved to some other position in the sentence than that which they would normally occupy?

1.13.2. What kind of structures are subject to Heavy Shift?

1.13.2.1. adjective phrases

1.13.2.2. object noun phrases

1.13.2.3. adverb phrases

1.13.2.4. others

1.13.3. To what position are such structures moved? Describe for each of the above.

1.13.3.1. the end of the constituent they are immediate constituents of

1.13.3.2. some other location — specify

1.13.4. In the event of more than one such heavy phrase being moved to the same position, what is their relative order?

1.13.5 Can Heavy Shift take place with elements located next to complementizers (subordinating conjunctions)?

1.14. Other move ment processes

1.14.1. Describe any other processes involving movement of an element from one position to another.

1.15. Minor sentence-types

1.15.1. Are there any minor sentence-types (e.g. English *to the dungeons with him!; why do such a thing?*; Dutch *wat te doen?*). Describe.

1.16. Are there operational definitions for the following word-classes?

1.16.1. noun

1.16.2. pronoun—different types

1.16.3. verb

1.16.4. adjective

1.16.5. pre-/postposition

1.16.6. numeral/quantifier

1.16.7. others

If so, describe.

2. Morphology

2.1. Inflection

2.1.1. Noun–inflection

2.1.1.1 Which of the following means are used to express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases?

2.1.1.1.1. bound affixes

2.1.1.1.2. morphophonemic alternations alone (internal change)

2.1.1.1.3. clitic particles

2.1.1.1.4. pre-/postpositions

2.1.1.1.5. word order

2.1.1.1.6. derivational processes (e.g. adjectivalization)

2.1.1.1.7. other means—specify

2.1.1.1.8. combinations of the above

2.1.1.2. How are the following syntactic functions expressed? Give full details regarding the various means utilized, their conditioning, and their productivity.

2.1.1.2.1. subject of intransitive verb

2.1.1.2.1.1. subject is agent (has control over situation)

2.1.1.2.1.2. subject is not agent

(e.g. Bats *as woze* 'I fell down (sc. and it was my own fault)', agentive; but *so woze* 'I fell down (sc. through no fault of my own)', (nonagentive)

2.1.1.2.2. subject of transitive verb

2.1.1.2.2.1. subject is agent

2.1.1.2.2.2. subject is not agent

2.1.1.2.3. subject of copular construction

2.1.1.2.4. direct object

2.1.1.2.4.1. subject expressed as free element

2.1.1.2.4.2. subject expressed as bound (affixal) element only

2.1.1.2.4.3. subject unexpressed

(In some languages if there is no subject expressed the objec will take a nominative case instead of an accusative case.)

2.1.1.2.5. indirect object (if there are several possibilities, describe any semantic differences)

2.1.1.2.6. object of comparison (e.g. 'he is bigger *than me*')

2.1.1.2.7. object of equation (e.g. 'he is as big *as me*')

2.1.1.2.8. other objects governed by verbs—list the possibilities and illustrate amply (we are concerned with the 'objects' of verbs which are distinguished in some way, e.g. by case, from direct objects)

2.1.1.2.9. complement of copular construction

2.1.1.2.9.1. defining, e.g. 'he is *a man*'

2.1.1.2.9.2. identity, e.g. 'he is *John*'

2.1.1.2.9.3. role, e.g. 'he is *a soldier*'

2.1.1.2.9.4. other copular verbs, e g. 'become'

2.1.1.2.10. subject–complement, e g. 'I was made *king*'

2.1 1.2 11. object–complement, e g. 'we made him *king*'

2.1.1.2.12. objects governed by adjectives, e.g. 'he is *like his father*', 'he is different *from his brother*'. List the possibilities and illustrate them amply.

2.1.1.2.13. agent in passive/pseudopassive/impersonal constructions

2.1.1.2.14. topic (cf. section 1.12)

2.1.1.2.15. emphasized element (if specially marked) (cf. section 1.11)

2.1.1.3. Apply the questions of 2.1.1.2 to all types of nonfinite or nominalized verb. Note any *differences* from the situation with finite verbs. The following types of nonfinite or nominalized verb may occur:

2.1.1.3.1. 'absolute' construction, e.g. 'John being a fool....'

2.1.1.3.2 infinitive, 'for me to go to heaven...'

2.1.1.3.3. gerund (verbal noun), e.g. 'John's singing (of) two psalms'

2.1.1.3.4. nominalization, e.g. 'John's refusal (refusing) of the offer'

2.1.1.4. How are the following nonlocal semantic functions expressed?

2.1.1.4.1.	benefactive	e.g. 'I did it *for Bill*'
2.1.1.4.2.	source	'I heard it *from Bill*', 'wool *from a sheep*'
2.1.1.4.3.	instrumental	'I hit him *with a hammer*'
2.1.1.4.3a.	negative instrumental	'I hit him *without a hammer*'
2.1.1.4.4.	comitative	'I went *with Bill*'
2.1.1.4.4a.	negative comitative	'I went *without Bill*'
2.1.1.4.5.	circumstance	'a man *with dirty hands*'
2.1.1.4.5a.	negative circumstance	'a man *without dirty hands*'

2.1.1.4.6. possessive

If different types of possessive occur, give full details of all the various types. The following types of distinction seem to occur:

2.1.1.4.6.1 alienable—inalienable (sometimes different types of inalienable possession)

2.1.1.4.6.2. temporary—permanent

2.1.1.4.6.3. present—past

2.1.1.4.7. possessed (may well have no special marking)

2.1.1.4.7.1. Is there a distinction between alienable and inalienable possessedness?

2.1.1.4.8.	quality	'a man *of/with humour*'
2.1.1.4.8a.	negative quality	'a man *without humour*'
2.1.1.4.8b.	reference quality	'the honour *of the man*'
2.1.1.4.9.	quantity	'a boat *of a thousand tons*'
2.1.1.4.9a.	reference quantity	'a pound *of sugar*'
2.1.1.4.10.	material	'a house *of bricks*', 'this house is built *of bricks*'
2.1.1.4.10a.	negative material	'this house was built *without bricks*
2.1.1.4.11.	manner	'he kissed her *with verve*'
2.1.1.4.11a.	negative manner	'he kissed her *without verve*'
2.1.1.4.12.	cause	'exhausted *by his wounds*'
2.1.1.4.13.	purpose	'I used it *for my work*'
2.1.1.4.14.	function	'I used the stick *as a club*'

2.1.1.4.15. reference 'I told him *about the incident*'
2.1.1.4.16. essive 'I was in Berlin *as a soldier*'
2.1.1.4.17. translative 'we appointed him *as general*'
2.1.1.4.18. part-whole 'the head of the dog', 'the top of the tree'
2.1.1.4.19. partitive
2.1.1.4.19.1. partitive numeral 'two *of the boys*'
2.1.1.4.19.2. nonpartitive numeral 'two *boys*' (if specially marked)
2.1.1.4.19.3. partitive quantifier 'some *of the boys*'
2.1.1.4.19.4. nonpartitive quantifier 'some *boys*' (if specially marked), 'some *cheese*'
2.1.1.4.19.5. partitive negative quantifier 'none *of the boys*'
2.1.1.4.19.6. nonpartitive negative quantifier 'no *boys*' (if specially marked), 'no *cheese*'
2.1.1.4.20. price 'I bought it *for two pounds*'
2.1.1.4.21. value 'a table *worth five pounds*'
2.1.1.4.22. distance 'I chased him *for a mile*'
2.1.1.4.23. extent 'a building *a mile high*', 'a car *twelve feet long*'
2.1.1.4.24. concessive 'he came *despite the rain*'
2.1.1.4.25. inclusion 'everyone *including John*'
2.1.1.4.26. exclusion 'everyone *excluding/except John*'
2.1.1.4.27. addition 'three people *in addition to John*'
2.1.1.4.28. vocative—is there a vocative particle, e.g. English *O*, and if so, is it obligatory?
2.1.1.4.29. citation form
2.1.3.4.30. label form (e.g. for shop-fronts, parcel-labels, etc.)

2.1.1.5. How are the following local semantic functions expressed?

	Type of location	*at rest*	*motion to*	*motion from*	*motion past*
2.1.1.5.1.	general	at	to	from	past
2.1.1.5.2.	proximate	near (to)	near	from near	near
2.1.1.5.3.	interior	in(side)	in(to)	out of	through
2.1.1.5.4.	exterior	outside	up to	away from	past
2.1.1.5.5.	anterior	in front of	in front of	from in front of	in front of
2.1.1.5.6.	posterior	behind	behind	from behind	behind
2.1.1.5.7.	superior	above/over	above	from above	over

2.1.1.5.8.	superior contact	on	on(to)	off	over
2.1.1.5.8a	surface	on	on(to)	off	over/across
2.1.1.5.9.	inferior	below/under	below/under	from under	under
2.1.1.5.10.	inferior-contact	under	under	from under	under
2.1.1.5.11.	lateral	beside	beside	from beside	past
2.1.1.5.12.	lateral-contact	on	on(to)	off	over, along
2.1.1.5.13.	citerior	on this side of	to this side of	from this side of	on this side of
2.1.1.5.14.	citerior-contact	on this side of	to this side of	from this side of	on this side of
2.1.1.5.15.	ulterior	beyond	beyond	from beyond	beyond
2.1.1.5.16.	ulterior-contact	on the other side of/across	across	from across	on the other side of
2.1.1.5.17.	medial (2)	between	between	from between	between
2.1.1.5.18.	medial (3^+)	among	among	from among	through
2.1.1.5.19.	circumferential	—	—	—	round
2.1.1.5.20.	citerior-anterior	opposite	opposite	from opposite	on the other side from
2.1.1.5.21.	interior (long object)				through/ along
2.1.1.5.22.	exterior (long object)				past/along
2.1.1.5.23.	superior (long object)				along (above)
2.1.1.5.24.	superior-contact (long object)				along (on top of)
2.1.1.5.24a	surface (long object)				along
2.1.1.5.25.	inferior (long object)				along (under)
2.1.1.5.26	inferior-contact (long object)				along (under)

In types 21—26 we are concerned with motion past a long object in the direction of its length. As far as the first three columns are concerned there will normally be no difference from nonlong objects. The following questions concern motion past a long object in the direction at right angles to its length.

2.1.1.5.27. interior (long object) through/across

2.1.1.5.28. superior (long object) over

2.1.1.5.29. superior–contact (long object) over

2.1.1.5.29a. surface (long object) across

2.1.1.6. The following questions are concerned with location in time:

2.1.1.6.1. general

2.1.1.6.1.1.	time of day	'at 7 o'clock'
2.1.1.6.1.2.	period of day	'in the afternoon'
2.1.1.6.1.3.	day of the week	'on Monday'
2.1.1.6.1.4.	month of the year	'in January'
2.1.1.6.1.5.	year	'in 1976'
2.1.1.6.1.6.	festivals	'at Christmas'
2.1.1.6.1.7.	seasons	'in spring'

2.1.1.6.2. frequentative: is there a means of indicating the frequentative expressions corresponding to 2.1.1.6.1–4 (e.g. 'on Mondays')?

2.1.1.6.3.	punctual-future	'I'll be back *in two hours*'
2.1.1.6.4.	punctual-past	'I was here *two hours ago*'
2.1.1.6.5.	duration	'I lived there *for two years*', 'I've arrived *for a week*'
2.1.1.6.6.	anterior-duration-past	'nothing happened *until Monday*'
2.1.1.6.7.	anterior-duration-future	'nothing is going to happen *until Monday*'
2.1.1.6.8.	posterior-duration-past	'nothing has happened *since Monday*'
2.1.1.6.9.	posterior-duration-future	'I'll be here *after Monday*', 'I'll be here *from Monday (on)*'
2.1.1.6.10.	anterior-general	'I've been here *previous to Monday*'
2.1.1.6.11.	posterior-general	'I'll be here *subsequent to Monday*'
2.1.1.6.12.	point in period-past	'he's been here *within the last 2 hours*', 'I've had five calls *in the last hour*', 'I've had five calls *in an hour*'
2.1.1.6.13.	point in period-future	'be back *within (the next) two hours*'

Note any restrictions between the occurrence of these temporal constructions and the tense/aspect of the verb.

All the questions in sections 2.1.1.4–6 should be answered with the following syntactic positions in mind:

a) as modifying (adverbial) element in a normal clause/ sentence

b) as the complement of a copular (not cleft) construction

c) as attibutive element in a noun phrase.

If any of the categories above cannot occur in any of these contexts, please note this.

2.1.1.7. Does the language display double case-marking? In other words, do nouns standing in a particular attributive relationship to another (head) noun exhibit, in addition to their own case-marking, case-agreement with the head noun? If this is so, describe:

2.1.1.7.1. under what circumstances it occurs.

2.1.1.7.2. which combinations of cases are possible.

2.1.1.7.3. whether it is optional or obligatory to have the second case-marking.

2.1.1.7.4. any phonological variation resulting from the juxta-position of the two case-markers.

2.1.1.8.1. Does the language have a number-marking system in nouns? If so, qualify this as e.g.

2.1.1.8.1.1. singular–plural

2.1.1.8.1.2. singular–dual–plural

2.1.1.8.1.3. singular–dual–trial–plural

2.1.1.8.1.4. singular–dual–paucal–plural

2.1.1.8.1.5. other—specify

Do different classes of nouns behave differently in this respect (e.g. animate versus inanimate)?

2.1.1.8.2. Is the system of marking number obligatory or optional? In situations where number–marking is not obligatory, is there always some disambiguating factor present?

2.1.1.8.3. If the language has no system of number–marking in the noun, does it have other means of indicating number, such as the use of a word meaning 'many', etc.?

2.1.1.8.4. Is there a distinction between a collective and a distributive plural or dual, etc.? Give details.

2.1.1.8.5. If collective nouns occur, is it possible to form singulatives from these? Do these have noncollective plurals in addition?

2.1.1.8.6. Describe in detail how the number distinctions marked in the noun are realized, i.e. list the various morphs (if identifiable) or changes, describing any phonological or morphological conditioning involved, and indicating the degree of productivity of the various processes.

2.1.1 8.7. Do foreign words retain their native number marking or are they integrated? If they are integrated, how does this proceed?

2.1.1.9. Are nouns divided into classes or genders?

2.1.1 9.1. If this is so, list the classes together with their distinguishing affixes or markers. Give examples of members of the various classes. Describe any phonologically or morphologically conditioned variation in the class/gender markers and indicate the relative productivity of the various formations.

2.1.1.9.2. If the answer to 2.1.1.9 is yes, give a characterization, if possible, of the class–meaning of each class. If this is not possible, indicate if there are any semantically associated groups of nouns which belong overwhelmingly to individual classes.

2.1.1.9.3. If the various noun–classes are not marked on the noun itself but on other elements of the sentence (e.g. numerals, prepositions, verbs, etc.), describe the system in the same way as requested in 2.1.1.9.1.

2.1.1.9.4. Does the language have classifiers? In other words does it possess a closed class of nouns which function as the heads of noun phrases when enumeration is involved? If so, list the various classifiers (supplying also their gloss as normal nouns) and describe the semantic classes of nouns associated with each, illustrating amply. Are the classifiers marked for any other semantic feature, e.g. politeness, size?

2.1.1.9.5. Are loan-words from other languages assigned to particular classes/genders on the basis of phonological or semantic criteria, or a mixture of both? Illustrate.

2.1.1.10. Is definiteness marked in noun phrases?

2.1.1.10.1. If so, describe how and where it is marked (e.g. separate word, affix on noun, affix on classifier, etc.), indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.10.2. Is the marking of definiteness in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.10.3. Does the form of the definiteness marker vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act?

2.1.1.10.4. Is this optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.10.5. Is definiteness indicated with

2.1 1.10.5.1. proper names?

2.1.1.10.5.2. abstract nouns?

Distinguish here between normal use and cases where two contrasting examples of the same noun are involved with different qualifications.

2.1.1.10.6. If so, is this obligatory or optional?

2.1.1.11. Is indefiniteness marked in noun phrases?

2.1.1.11.1. If so, describe how it is marked, indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.11.2. Is the marking of indefiniteness in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.11.3. Does the form of the indefiniteness marker vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act?

2.1.1 11.4. Is this optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.11.5. Is indefiniteness indicated with

2.1.1.11.5.1. nonsingular nouns?

2.1.1.11.5 2. mass nouns?

Distinguish here between the paradigm use of mass nouns and their use as count nouns indicating 'sorts'.

2.1.1.11.6. If so, is this obligatory or optional?

2.1.1.12 Are referential and nonreferential indefiniteness distinguished, e.g. Persian *Hasan yek kita:b-ra: xarid* 'Hasan bought a specific book' *Hasan yek kita:b xarid* 'Hasan bought some book or other'?

2.1 1.12.1. If so, describe how the distinction is marked, indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2 1.1.12.2. Is the marking of referentiality in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.12.3. Is referentiality indicated with

2.1.1.12.3.1. nonsingular nouns?

2 1.1.12.3 2. mass nouns?

Distinguish here between the paradigm use of mass nouns and their use as count nouns indicating 'sorts'.

2.1.1.12.4. If so, is this obligatory or optional?

2.1.1.13. Is genericness marked in noun phrases?

2.1.1.13.1. If so, describe how it is marked, indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.13.2. Is the marking of genericness in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.14. Are more important noun actors distinguished from less important (obviative) ones by any means? For example, affixation of either or both kinds of nouns? Is the distinction more than two-way.

2 1.1.14.1. If so, describe the affixation or other means involved, giving full details of any variation in the markers.

2 1.1.14.2. Does this only apply with animate (or pseudoanimate) nouns?

2.1.1.14 3. Does this system operate only when two possible actors are involved in the same sentence, or in some other unit, or are all animate nouns defined as more important and less important?

2.1.1.14.4. Is the system described optional or obligatory?

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Do free pronouns occur in the language? Answer questions in 2.1.2 1.1. with respect to: subject, direct object, indirect object, other positions.

2 1.2 1.1.1. Are free pronouns obligatory in all circumstances in

2.1.2.1.1.1.1. the first person?

2.1.2 1.1.1.2. the second person?

2.1.2.1.1.1.3. the third person?

2.1.2.1.1.2. Are free pronouns optional in all circumstances in

2.1.2.1.1.2.1. the first person?

2.1.2.1.1.2.2. the second person?

2 1.2.1.1.2.3. the third person?

2.1.2.1.1.3. Do free pronouns occur

2.1.2 1.1 3.1. in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts in general?

2.1.2.1.1.3.2. in contexts where the referent (s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized?

2.1.2.1.1.3.3. in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs ?

2.1.2.1.1.3.4. in contexts with imperative verbs where the referent (s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized ?

2.1.2.1.1.3 5. in answer to questions of the type 'who is that ?', i.e. '(it is) I' ?

2.1.2.1.1.3.6. in cleft or pseudocleft constructions ?

2.1.2.1.1.3.7. If the conditions of occurrence of free pronouns do not correspond with any of the above, state them in as much detail as possible'.

2.1.2.1.1.4. If free pronouns occur in both emphatic and unemphatic contexts, is there a difference in either segmental (i.e. reduced versus unreduced) or suprasegmental (accented versus unaccented, tone variation, long vowel versus short vowel etc.) structure ?

2.1.2 1.1.5. Are reduced pronouns restricted to particular positions in the sentence structure ? If so, give details.

2.1.2.1.2. What person distinctions are made in the pronouns ?

2.1.2.1.2.1. 1st v, 2nd v 3rd person

2.1.2.1.2.2. 1st v. nonfirst person

2.1.2.1.2.3. other give details.

2.1.2.1.3. Does the language distinguish inclusion v. exclusion of the second person in th first person ('we including you' v. 'we excluding you'), or inclusion v. exclusion of the third person in the first or second person ('we including them', 'we excluding them', 'you including them', 'you excluding them')? If so, describe for each whether we have

2.1.2.1.3.1. inclusive v. exclusive

2.1.2.1.3.2. inclusive only

2 1 2.1.3.3. exclusive only

2.1.2.1.3.4. inclusive v. exclusive & general

2.1.2.1.3.5. inclusive & general

2.1.2.1.3.6. exclusive & general

2.1.2.1.3.7. general only

2.1.2.1.4. Are pronouns marked for number ?

2.1.2.1.4.I. Which of the following sets of distinctions occurs ?

2.1.2.1.4.1.1. singular–plural

2.1.2.1.4.1.2. singular–dual–plural

2.1.2.1.4.1.3. singular–dual–trial–plural

2.1.2.1.4.1.4. singular–dual–trial–quadral–plural

2.1.2.1.4.1.5. singular–paucal–plural

2.1.2.1.4.1.6. singular–dual–paucal–plural

2.1.2.1.4.1.7. other–give details

2.1.2.1.4.2. Is the marking of any particular number distinction optional in any instance? If a particular distinction is not made which other subcategory takes over?

2.1.2.1.4.3. Is there overlapping reference between any of the subcategories? For example, in some languages with a dual and plural, the plural may also be used where two objects or persons are concerned, as well as the dual. In other languages with a dual and plural, the plural has only the meaning of 'three or more'. Define in any case the reference of the plural subcategory in pronouns. Describe any features that determine the choice between the overlapping terms.

2.1.2.1.4.4. In some languages we have another kind of overlapping reference, where more than one term has unbounded reference, e.g. X = 'one', Y = 'two or more', Z = 'three or more'. Does this exist? If so, describe any factors that determine the choice of the overlapping terms.

2.1.2.1.4.5. If the language has a paucal what is the exact range of this?

2.1.2.1.4.6. Can pronouns be associated in noun phrases with numerals, e.g. '*we two* (men)'? Are such formations distinct from true duals, trials, etc. in any way? Is there any obvious limit on the association of pronouns and numerals, e.g. 'we three', 'we hundred thousand', where the second might not be possible in some languages?

2.1.2.1.4.7. Is there a distinction between collective and distributive plurals, duals, etc.?

2.1.2.1.4.8. Is there a distinction between different types of nonsingular such that one indicates that the referents include all the possible referents (however defined), whereas the other indicates that only a subset of the possible referents is involved?

2.1.2.1.5.1. Does the language mark the different status of various 3rd person actors referred to by pronouns as more important versus less important (obviative/4th person)? Is this compulsory?

2.1.2.1.5.2. Do further degrees of obviation exist in pronouns (5th person, etc.)?

2.1.2.1.6. Are different degrees of proximity to the participants in the speech act marked in third person pronouns? If so, is this optional or obligatory?

2.1.2.1.6.1. Which distinctions are made?

2.1.2.1.7. Are there special anaphoric third person pronouns?

2.1.2.1.7.1. Do clashes between natural gender and grammatical gender arise with pronouns used anaphorically? How are these resolved?

2.1.2.1.8. Are there gender/class distinctions in pronouns? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.8.1. In contradistinction to the gender of the referent, is the sex of the speaker or hearer distinguished? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.9. Are there special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional, or family relationships of the referents? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.9.1. Are there special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional, or family relationships of the speaker or hearer to the referents? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.10. List all the forms arising from the intersection of the abovementioned categories — person, inclusion, number, obviation, proximity, anaphoricity, gender/class, kinship/tribal affiliation—in the unmarked case and most neutral status form (if case or status is marked in the pronouns of the language). If the gender/class distinctions are very numerous, and the various forms reflecting these distinction are regularly formed by some process or other, it is not necessary to give all the gender/class variants provided their formation is explicated. Give details of any variant or reduced forms.

2.1.2.1.11. Does the pronoun agree with the verb in tense? Give full details of any tense-marking in the pronouns. Do the same for any other verbal category marked in the pronoun.

2.1.2.1.12. Does the language mark status distinctions in the pronoun, e.g. familiar, honorific, etc.? Describe all nonneutral forms here, giving an indication of the degree of status of the relevant participants (speaker, hearer, or third person), or of the circumstances of use involved.

2.1.2.1.12.1. If in certain circumstances the use of titles or other nouns is preferred, describe the conditions under which this is so, and

2.1.2.1.12.1.1. give a complete list of the forms if only a small closed class is involved

2 1.2.1.12.1.2. if a large number of terms is involved, state whether an open or closed class is involved, describe any subclasses of significance, and give examples

2.1.2.1.12.2. Indicate if forms from the neutral system acquire a different reference as status forms. List these cases.

2.1.2.1.12.3 If the system of person/inclusion/number/obviation/proximity/anaphoricity/gender/class/kinship/tribal affiliation distinctions made among the status forms is different from those made in the neutral system, describe the differences.

2.1.2.1.13.1. Are there special nonspecific indefinite pronouns (e.g. English *one*, French *on*)? If so, give the forms, explaining any difference in their usage.

2.1.2.1.13.2. Are any forms from the personal system used also as nonspecific indefinite pronouns (cf. English *you*)?

2.1.2.1.13.3. Do any nouns have the function of nonspecific indefinite pronouns? Which?

2.1.2.1.14. Describe any system of specific indefinite pronouns (e.g. English *someone*).

2.1.2.1.15. Are there special emphatic pronouns?

2.1.2.1.15.1. If so, are there any distinctions made in degrees of emphasis? Describe these.

2.1.2.1.15.2. If the various emphatic forms are derived according to some regular process, describe this, giving examples; otherwise list all the forms. If different distinctions are made among the emphatic pronouns from those made among the normal pronouns list all the form in any case.

2.1.2.1.15.3. Are there selective emphatic pronouns? I.e. pronouns with the meanings 'we, but especially I', 'you, but especially thou', 'they, but especially he/she'. If so, describe the system in detail.

2.1.2.1.16. Do complex pronouns occur giving a combination of different types of reference (e.g. both subject and object reference)? If so, give all the possible forms and their meanings.

2.1 2.1.17. Are constructions of the type pronoun–noun possible where both elements have the same reference, e.g. 'we firemen....'. If so, is this possible with all pronouns or only with some. List those forms for which it is impossible.

2.1.2.1.18. Do constructions of the general type 'we (and) the priest' occur with the meaning 'I and the priest'? If this phenomenon occurs in various numbers, dual, trial, etc., describe the meanings of the various types of combination.

2.1.2.1.18.1. Does this phenomenon also occur with pairs of pronouns, e.g. do constructions of the type 'we (and) thou' occur with the meaning 'I and you'? If so, illustrate, describing any phonological changes occurring in the form of the pronouns. If there is a coordinating element present is this the normal coordinator for noun phrases?

2.1.2.1.19. Some languages have a sort of secondary pronoun system available, by which it is possible to specify in greater detail the precise composition of various nonsingular combinations of persons. In this system the different forms are constructed out of:

2.1.2.1.19.1. combinations of free pronouns (other than those produced by the ordinary means of coordination)

2.1.2.1.19.2. a free pronoun affixed with various pronominal affixes

2.1.2.1.19.3. other means.

If the language has such a system, describe the principles of its construction and list the various forms that occur together, with their meanings.

2.1.2.1.20. Is there a case system in pronouns?

2.1.2.1.20.1. If so, describe fully any deviations from that occurring with nouns, e.g.:

2.1.2.1.20.1.1. additional cases and their functions

2.1.2.1.20.1.2. absent cases

2.1.2.1.20.1.3. different uses of the cases

2.1 2.1.20.1.4. different markers for the cases

2.1.2.1.20.1.5. irregular forms of cases (give full details here, with paradigms if necessary)

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

2.1.2.2.1. Does the language have special reflexive pronouns, or common nouns used as reflexives?

2.1.2.2.2. If so, do these distinguish the following subcategories?

2.1.2.2.2.1. person

2.1.2.2.2.2. inclusion

2.1.2.2.2.3. number

2.1.2.2.2.4. obviation

2.1.2.2.2.5. proximity

2.1.2.2.2.6. anaphoricity

2.1.2.2 2.7. gender/class

2.1.2.2.2.8. kinship/tribal affiliation

2.1.2.2.2.9. status (for these see further 2.1.2.1)

2.1.2.2.3. Give all the forms resulting from the (intersection of the) above subcategories, unless the reflexive pronoun is derived from the personal pronoun by some regular process, in which case it is sufficient to describe the process and illustrate it amply. If there is just one reflexive, give it.

2.1.2.2.4. Are reflexive pronouns marked for case?

2.1.2.2.4.1. Is the means of expressing case in the reflexive the same as that used in the pronoun?

2.1.2.2.4.2. Describe any differences in detail.

2.1.2.2.5. If there is no reflexive pronoun, how is reflexivity expressed?

2.1.2.2.6. If there is a reflexive pronoun, are there also other ways of expressing reflexivity? Specify.

2.1.2.2.7. Does the reflexive pronoun have other uses? Specify.

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns

2.1.2.3.1. Does the language have special reciprocal pronouns, or common nouns used as reciprocals?

2.1.2.3.2. If so, do these distinguish the following subcategories?

2.1.2.3.2.1. person

2.1.2.3.2.2. inclusion

2.1.2.3.2.3. number

2.1.2.3.2.4. obviation

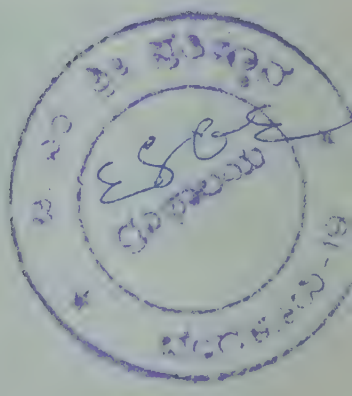
2.1.2.3.2.5. proximity

2.1.2 3.2.6. anaphoricity

2.1.2.3.2.7. gender/class

2.1.2.3.2.8. kinship/tribal affiliation

2.1.2.3 2.9. status (for these see further 2.1.2.1)



2.1.2.3.3. Give all the forms resulting from the (intersection of the) above subcategories, unless the reciprocal pronoun is derived from the personal pronoun by some regular process, in which case it is sufficient to describe the process and illustrate it amply. If there is just one reciprocal pronoun, give it.

2.1.2.3.4. Are reciprocal pronouns marked for case?

2.1.2.3.4.1. Is the means of expressing case in the reciprocal the same as in the noun?

2.1.2.3.4.2. Describe any differences in detail.

2.1.2.3.5. If there is no reciprocal pronoun, how is reciprocality expressed?

2.1.2.3.6. If there is a reciprocal pronoun, are there also other ways of expressing reciprocality?

2.1.2.3.7. Does the reciprocal pronoun have other uses? Specify.

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

2.1.2.4.1. Does the language have special possessive pronouns?

2.1.2.4.2. Is there a distinction made between the following types of possession?

2.1.2.4.2.1. alienable/inalienable or subtypes of these

2.1.2.4.2.2. temporary/permanent

2.1.2.4.2.3. persons/animals/things

2.1.2.4.2.4. present/past

2.1.2.4.2.5. other

How are these distinctions marked?

2.1.2.4.3. Give a list of all the possessive pronouns of all the above types, unless they are derived by a regular process from the personal pronouns, in which case describe this process and illustrate amply.

2.1.2.4.4. Are possessive pronouns marked for case?

2.1.2.4.4.1. If so, is the means of expressing case in the possessive pronoun the same as in the noun?

2.1.2.4 4.2. Describe any differences in detail.

2.1.2.4.5. If there is no possessive pronoun, how is possession expressed with pronouns?

2.1.2.4.6. If there is a possessive pronoun, are there alternative ways of expressing possession with pronouns?

2.1.2.4.7. Does the language have reflexive possessive pronouns?

2.1.2.4.7.1. If so, describe them fully.

2.1.2.4.8. Does the language have reciprocal possessive pronouns?

2.1.2.4.8.1. If so, describe them fully.

2.1.2.4.9. Does the langauge have emphatic possessive pronouns?

2.1.2.4.9.1. If so, describe them fully.

2.1.2.4.10. Are there other types of possessive pronouns?

2.1.2.4.10.1. If so, describe them fully.

2.1.2.4.11. Can the above forms be used adjectivally (i.e. as modifier of a nominal construction)?

2.1.2.4.11.1. Are there separate adjectival forms? If so, describe.

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns

2.1.2.5.1. Which of the following parameters are involved in the demonstrative pronouns of the language?

2.1.2.5.1.1. relative distance from the speaker; specify the number of degrees of distance, and their approximate reference (e.g. near, middle distance, far)

2.1.2.5.1.2. relative distance from the hearer; specify the number of degrees of distance, and their approximate reference

2.1.2 5.1.3. relative distance from speaker and hearer; specify the number of degrees of distance, and their approximate reference

2.1.2.5.1.4. equidistance from speaker and hearer

2.1.2.5.1.5. contact with the speaker

2.1.2.5.1.6. contact with the hearer

2 1.2.5.1.7. behind speaker

2.1.2 5.1.8. behind hearer

2.1.2.5.1.9. between speaker and hearer

2.1.2.5.1.10. on other side of hearer from speaker

2.1.2.5.1.11. on other side of speaker from hearer

2.1.2.5.1.12. equidistant from the speaker and some object

2.1.2.5.1.13. equidistant from the hearer and some object

2.1.2.5.1.14. on other side of some object from speaker

2.1.2.5.1.15. on other side of some object from hearer

2.1.2.5.1.16. inside some object

2.1.2.5.1.17. outside some object

2.1.2.5.1.18. near some object

2.1.2.5.1.19. vertical orientation with respect to the speaker; specify the number of degrees of height, and their approximate reference (e.g. higher, level, lower)

2.1.2.5.1.20. other spatial relationship with speaker, hearer, or other reference point; specify

2.1.2.5.1.21. visible/invisible

2.1.2.5.1.21.1. to the speaker

2.1.2.5.1.21.2. to the hearer

2.1 2.5.1.21.3. to both speaker and hearer

2.1.2.5.1.21.4. to some other person

2.1.2.5.1.22. known/unknown

2.1.2.5.1.22.1. to the speaker

2.1.2.5.1.22.2. to the hearer

2.1.2.5.1 22.3. to both speaker and hearer

2.1.2.5.1.22.4. to some other person

2.1.2.5.1.23. referred to in previous discourse

2.1.2.5.1.23.1. neutral

2.1.2.5.2.23.2. relative lapse of time, e.g. recently v. longer ago

2.1.2.5.1.24. time dimension; specify the number of degrees of relative time, and their approximate reference (e.g. future, present, past)

2.1.2.5.1.25. other parameters—specify

2.1.2.5.1.26. Is there a neutral demonstrative pronoun as distinct from a third person pronoun? If this is not the only demonstrative in the language, under what circumstances is it used?

2.1.2.5.2. Describe the various demonstrative pronouns resulting from the employment of the above parameters and their combinations, and give their meanings. Since many demonstrative pronouns with basically spatial reference will have various derived meanings (e.g. the pronoun meaning 'far from the speaker' may in some languages receive the derived meaning 'out of sight', etc.), it is desirable to give as full detail as possible on such usages. Try and distinguish between primary and secondary usages, if possible. If it is the case that many combinations of the above parameters are possible and that these involve series of affixes corresponding with particular parameters affixed to a few basic stems, it is sufficient (assuming the processes involved are regular) to describe the means of formation of these complex pronouns, giving ample illustration, and stating which combinations of the various parameters are possible.

2.1.2.5.3. Are there demonstrative pronouns part of whose phonological structure may vary iconically in proportion to the degree of distance involved? Is this a continuum, or is there a fixed number of discrete distinctions involved?

2.1.2.5.4. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for number?

2.1.2.5.4.1. Is the means of expressing number in the demonstrative the same as that used with the noun?

2.1.2.5.4.2. Describe any differences in full detail.

2.1.2.5.5. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for class/gender?

2.1.2.5.5.1. Is the means of expressing class/gender in the demonstrative the same as that used in the noun?

2.1.2.5.5.2. Describe any differences in full detail.

2.1.2.5.6. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for case?

2.1.2.5.6.1. Is the means of expressing case in the demonstrative the same as that used in the noun?

2.1.2.5.6.2. Describe any differences in detail.

2.1.2.5.7. Are any other grammatical categories marked in the demonstrative?

2.1.2.5.7.1. If so, describe fully.

2.1.2.5.8. Can the above demonstrative pronouns all also be used adjectivally (attributively) or/and are there special adjectival forms?

2.1.1.5.8.1. If so, describe fully all differences between the pronominal and adjectival forms.

2.1.2 6. Interrogative pronouns and other question words

2.1.2.6.1. Does the language have interrogative pronouns?

2.1.2.6.1.1. If so, which of the following types does it have? List the forms.

2.1.2.6.1.1.1. general

2.1.2.6.1.1.2. selective (from a group)

2.1.2.6.1.1.3. other types—specify

(Here follow 2.1.2.6.1 2 (parallel to 2.1.2 5.4) through 2.1.2.6.1.6.1 (parallel to 2.1.2 5.8.1).

2.1.2.6.2. List all other question words and their meanings. Specify whether different forms are used in direct and indirect questions.

2.1.2 7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

2.1.2.7.1. Does the language have special relative pronouns?

2.1.2.7.1.1. If so, which of the following types does it have? List the forms.

2.1.2.7.1.1.1. restrictive

2.1.2.7.1.1.2. nonrestrictive

2.1.2.7.1.1.3. other types—specify

Here follow 2.1.2.7.1.2 (parallel to 2.1.2.5.4) through 2.1.2.7.1.6.1 (parallel to 2.1.2 5.8.1).

2. .2.7.2. List all other relative words and their meanings.

2.1.2.7.3. Do the words for 'place' and 'time' take relative pronouns, or relative words corresponding to 'where' and 'when'?

2.1.3. Verb morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

2.1.3.1.1.1. Personal passive. Which of the following passive constructions exist, and how are they formed (here and throughout section 2.1.3 indicate both changes in the morphology of the verb and in the syntactic expression of the noun phrase arguments of the verb):

2.1.3.1.1.1.1. The direct object of the active appears as subject of the passive.

2.1.3.1.1 1.2. The indirect object of the active appears as subject of the passive.

2.1.3.1.1.1.3. Some other constituent of the active appears as subject of the passive.

2.1.3.1 1.2. Impersonal passive: Are there passive constructions where no constituent appears in subject position? If so, can these be formed, and how, from verbs which in the active have

2.1.3.1.1.2.1. a direct object?

2.1.3.1.1.2.2. an indirect object?

2.1.3.1 1.2.3. some other object?

2.1.3.1.1.2.4. no object?

2.1.3.1.1.3. For each of the above types, indicate whether it is possible for the subject of the active to be expressed in the passive construction, and if so, how. Are there different forms depending on whether or not the subject of the active is agentive?

2.1.3.1.1.4.1. Does the passive have the same tenses and aspects as the active? Specify any differences fully.

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. Is there a distinction between dynamic and static passive (e.g. *the house is being built* versus *the house is (already built)*? Specify

2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing the valency (number of arguments) of a verb: Does the language have means, other than the passive, of decreasing the valency of a verb, and if so, how? (Note in particular any similarities to passives.)

2.1.3.1.2.1. formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the subject of the transitive (e.g. *the water is boiling* from *John is boiling the water*)

2.1.3.1.2.2. formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the direct object (e.g. *John is eating* from *John is eating fish*)

2.1.3.1.2 3. formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object of the transitive as subject (e.g. *John and Bill are fighting* from *John is fighting Bill*)

2.1.3.1.2.4. other means of decreasing the valency of a verb

2.1 3.1.3. Means of increasing the valency of a verb: Does the language have means of increasing the valency of a verb, and if so, how? (One widespread pattern of valency-increasing is the relation between noncausative and causative.)

2.1.3.1.3.1 1. How is an intransitive verb made causative?

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. How is a transitive verb made causative?

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. How is a ditransitive verb (i.e. a verb with both direct and indirect object) made causative?

2.1.3.1.3.2. Is there any formal difference depending on the agentivity or otherwise of the causee?

2.1.3.1.3.3. Is it possible for the causee to be omitted? If so, can this lead to ambiguity (e.g. French *j'ai fait manger les cochons* (i) 'I have made the pigs eat', (ii) 'I have made someone eat the pigs').

2.1.3.1.4. Are there special reflexive or reciprocal verb forms? Do these have any other uses? If so, describe.

2.1.3.2. Tense

Tense and aspect should be carefully distinguished in 2.1.3.2 and 2.1.3.3, though note should be made of forms that combine tense and aspect (e.g. the imperfect as combination of past tense and imperfective aspect), or that have both tense and aspect values (e.g. the pluperfect as past-in-the-past or perfect-in-the-past); similarly, some forms may have both tense and mood values.

Distinguish absolute and relative tense. Absolute tenses involve a time specification relative to the present moment; relative tenses involve a time specification relative to some other specified point in time.

Indicate for each case whether tense specification is obligatory or optional.

2.1.3.2.1. Which of the following tenses are distinguished formally, and how?

2.1.3.2.1.1. universal (i.e. characteristic of all time, past, present, and future)

2.1.3.2.1.2. present

2.1.3.2.1.3. past

2.1.3.2.1.3 1. Is past further subdiveded according to degree of remoteness?

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Are there also relative tenses, relative to a point in the past, i.e. pluperfect (past-in-the-past), future-in-the-past?

2.1 3.2.1.4. future

2.1.3.2.1.4.1. Does this form also have modal and/or aspectual values?

2.1.3,2.1.4 2. Is future further subdivided according to degree of remoteness?

2.1.3.2.1.4.3. Are there also relative tenses, relative to a point in the future, i.e. future perfect (past-in-the-future), future-in-the-future?

2.1.3.2.2. Do the same tense distinctions obtain in all moods and non-finite forms? If not, indicate the differences.

2.1.3.2.3. To what extent are the tenses absolute, and to what extent relative? Answer with respect to each of the following criteria:

2.1.3.2.3.1. mood

2.1.3.2.3.2. finiteness

2.1.3.2.3.3. main versus subordinate clause

2.1.3.3. Aspect

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1. Is there a separate perfect aspect, i.e. distinct forms for indicating a past situation (event, process, state, act) that has present relevance? If so, how is it formed?

2.1.3.3.1.2. Which tenses does this form exist in (e.g. English present perfect *I have seen*, pluperfect (past perfect, perfect-in-the-past) *I had seen*, future perfect (perfect-in-the-future) *I shall have seen*)?

2.1.3.3.1.3. If there is a perfect aspect, which of the following can it indicate? Do any of the following have separate forms?

2.1.3.3.1 3 1. present result of a past situation

2.1.3.3.1.3.2. a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present (e.g *have you ever been to London?*)

2.1.3.3.1.3.3. a situation that began in the past and is still continuing (e.g. *I have been waiting for an hour already*)

2.1.3.3.1.3.4. any others (e.g. a situation completed a short time ago, a situation that will shortly be completed, etc.)

2.1.3.3.1.4. Are there similarities between the expression of perfect aspect and recent past tense?

2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation

2.1.3.3.2.1. Which of the following, if any, are marked formally, either (a) regularly for all verbs where applicable, (b) only for certain lexical items?

2.1.3.3.2.1.1. perfective (aoristic) aspect (a situation viewed in its totality, without distinguishing beginning, middle, and end)

2.1.3.3.2.1.2. imperfective aspect (a situation viewed with respect to its internal constituency)

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. habitual aspect (a situation characteristic of a considerable stretch of time, e.g. English *I used to play chess*)

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. continuous aspect (nonhabitual imperfective aspect)

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. progressive aspect (continuous aspect of a nonstative (dynamic) verb)

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. ingressive aspect (beginning of a situation)

2.1.3.3.2.1.7. terminative aspect (end of a situation)

2.1.3.3.2.1.7.1. Is there a special form indicating the completion of another situation prior to the situation being described?

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. iterative aspect (repetition of a situation; note that habitual aspect (2.1.3.3.2.1.3) need not be iterative, e.g. *the capital of Russia used to be St. Petersburg*)

2.1.3.3.2.1.9. semelfactive aspect (a single occurrence of a situation)

2.1.3.3.2.1.10. punctual aspect (a situation that is viewed as not being able to be analyzed temporally, e.g. *he coughed*, referring to a single cough; contrast perfective aspect, where the situation is not analyzed, although there is no specification that it could not be)

2.1.3.3.2.1.11. durative aspect (a situation that is viewed as necessarily lasting in time)

2.1.3.3.2.1.12. simultaneous aspect (simultaneity with some other situation)

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. other aspects

2.1.3.3.2 1.14. Is there any way of indicating overtly a situation that leads to a logical conclusion (telic, accomplishment), as opposed to one that does not? Thus English *drink a gallon of water* is telic (the action must come to an end when the gallon of water is consumed, and may not come to an end before then), and *drink some water* atelic (it can continue indefinitely, or stop at any time,) although English makes no overt distinction here. Is there a way of indicating that the logical conclusion of a telic situation has been reached?

2.1.3.3.2.2.1. What possibiliteies are there for combining different aspectual values?

2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Are there any restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with the various

2.1.3.3 2.2.2.1. voices?

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. tenses?

2.1 3.3.2.2 2.3. moods?

2 1.3.3.2.2.2.4. finite and nonfinite forms?

2.1.3.4. Mood

Which of the f llowing exist as distinct morphological categories, and how are they marked?

2.1.3 4.1. indicative (this will exist as a separate form only in contrast to one or more other moods)

2.1.3.4.2. conditional

2.1.3.4 3. imperative

2.1.3.4.3.1. In which persons and numbers does the imperative have special forms?

2.1.3.4.4. optative (expression of a wish for something to come about)

2.1.3.4.5. intentional (intention to bring about some situation)

2.1.3.4.6. debitive (obligation to do something)

2.1.3.4.6.1. Is any distinction made between moral and physical obligation?

2.1.3.4.6.2. Is there any expression of different degrees of obligation?

2.1.3.4.7. potential (ability to do something)

2.1.3.4.7.1. Is there any distinction between physical ability and permission?

2.1.3.4.7.2. Is there a separate form for learned ability?

2.1.3.4.8. degree of certainty : are there ways in which the speaker can indicate the degree of certainty with which he makes an assertion (e.g. English *he must be there, he is there, he may be there*)?

2.1.3.4.9. authority for assertion: are there ways in which the speaker can indicate his authority for making an assertion, e.g. personal witnessing of situation, reliable secondhand information, unreliable secondhand information?

2.1.3.4.10. hortatory (encouraging)

2.1.3.4.11. monitory (warning)

2.1.3.4.12. narrative

2.1.3.4.13. consecutive (the situaton being described foows on from some previously mentioned situation)

2.1.3.4.14. contingent (it is possible that...)

2.1.3.4.15. others—specify

2.1.3.5. Finite and nonfinite forms

Does the language distinguish finite and nonfinite verbal forms? List the forms and their uses, and indicate which forms have overt expression of the various:

2.1.3.5.1. voices

2.1.3.5.2. tenses

2.1.3.5.3. aspects

2.1.3.5.4. moods

2.1.3.6. Person/number/etc. (cf. 2.1.2.1)

2.1.3.6.1. Which of the following (a) must be (b) may be coded in the verb ?

2.1.3.6.1.1. subject

2.1.3.6.1.2. direct object

2.1.3.6.1 3. indirect object

2.1.3.6.1.4. benefactive

2.1.3.6.1.5. other—specify

2.1.3.6.2. For each of 2.1.3.6.1.1.—5, how is agreement marked?

2.1.3.6.2.1. marker on verb—give these in detail

2.1.3.6.2.2. pronoun (a) clitic (b) nonclitic

2.1.3.6.2.3. other—describe processes involved

2.1.3.6.3. If only certain members of each class 2.1.3.6.1.1—5 are coded in the verb, what are the conditioning factors, and how do they operate ?

2.1.3.6.3.1. word order

2.1.3.6.3.2. topic/comment structure

2.1.3.6.3.3. definiteness of noun phrase

2.1.3.6.3.4. animacy of noun phrase

2.1.3.6.3.5. deletion (nonoccurrence) of noun phrase

2.1.3.6.3.6. other—specify

2.1.3.6.4. What feature of the noun phrase are coded in the verb? Refer to the list of features for pronouns (2.1.2.1.2.ff) and nouns (2.1.1.10 ff).

2 1.3.6.5. How is coding affected by

2.1.3.6.5.1. discrepancy between syntactic and semantic features?

2.1.3.6.5.2. coordination of noun phrases of different agreement classes?

2.1.3.6.6. Is agreement the same for all

2.1.3.6.6.1. voices?

2.1.3.6.6.2. tenses?

2.1.3.6.6.3. aspects?

2.1.3.6.6.4. moods?

2.1.3.6.6.5. finite and nonfinite forms?
Describe any differences.

2.1.3.6.7. Is identity or nonidentity between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following or preceding verb indicated? How?

2.1.3.6.7.1. With what degree of specificity (e.g. for person, number, etc.) is such agreement?

2.1.3.6.8. Are there special reflexive forms of the verb? If so, describe the formation of these forms in detail.

2.1.3.6.9. Are there special reciprocal forms of the verb? If so, describe the formation of these forms in detail.

2.1.3.6.10. Is there any distinction made between actions.

2.1.3.6.10.1. towards the speaker?

2.1.3.6.10.2. away from the speaker?

2.1.3.6.10.3. towards the hearer?

2.1.3.6.10.4. away from the hearer?

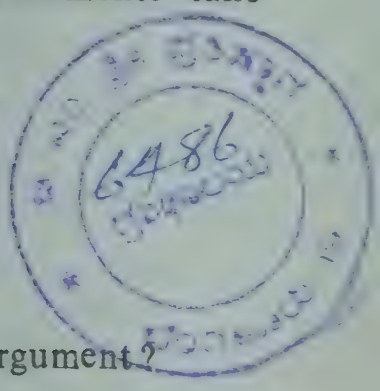
2.1.3.6.10.5. towards a third person?

2.1.3 6.10.6. away from a third person?

2.1.3.6.10.7. other kinds of directionals?

2.1.3.6.11. Is a distinction made between different modes of body orientation, e.g. standing up, sitting down, with hands?

2.1.3.6.12.1. Does incorporation of the following elements take place ? optionally/obligatorily



2.1.3.6.12.1.1. transitive noun subject

2.1.3.6.12.1.2. intransitive noun subject

2.1.3.6.12.1.3. noun direct object

2.1.3.6.12.1.4. noun indirect object

2.1.3.6.12.1.5. other nominal elements

2.1.3.6.12.1.6. adjectives; if so, referring to which argument?

2.1.3.6.12.1.7. adverbs; if so, which kinds?

2.1.3.6.12.1.8. pre-/postpositions

2.1.3.6.12.1.9. other elements—specify

2.1.3.6.12.2. For each of the above, describe the incorporation process, describing any changes that take place in the incorporated elements, any categories that are neutralized, and listing all irregular (suppletive or otherwise) incorporation forms.

2.1.3.7. If strings of verbs occur together in any construction, is there any change or loss of any features normally marked on the verb? Are any elements interposed ?

2.1.4. Adjectives

If the language has subclasses of adjectives that behave differently according to the various criteria below, please specify the subclasses, with any semantic or other correlates, and answer separately for each subclass; thus with verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives in Japanese. Similarly if there are individual adjectives or groups of adjectives that behave aberrantly.

2.1.4.1. Is any distinction made between predicative and attributive forms of adjectives ? If so, specify.

2.1.4.2. Is there any distinction between absolute (permanent, normal) and contingent (temporary; abnormal) state? If so, how is this distinction expressed ?

2.1.4.3.1. Do (a) attributive (b) predicative adjectives agree with nouns in terms of the following categories, and if so, how?

2.1.4.3.1.1. number

2.1.4.3.1.2. person

2.1.4.3.1.3. gender/class

2.1.4.3.1.4. case

2.1.4.3.1.5. definiteness/indefiniteness

2.1.4.3.1.6. other — specify

2.1.4.3.2. Does agreement depend on

2.1.4.3.2.1. relative position of noun and adjective?

2.1.4.3.2.2. whether or not the noun is overtly expressed?

2.1.4.3.3. How is agreement affected by

2.1.4.3.3.1. conflict between grammatical and semantic category values?

2.1.4.3.3.2. agreement with coordinated nouns some of which belong to different classes?

2.1.4.4. How are the various kinds of comparison expressed?

2.1.4.4.1. equality (e.g. *as tall as John)*

2.1.4.4.2. comparative (e.g. *taller than John*)

2.1.4.4.3. superlative

2.1.4.4.3.1. compared to other entities (e.g. *this river is the widest*, i.e. wider than any other river)

2.1.4.4.3.2. compared to itself at other points/times (e.g. *this river is widest here*, i.e. compared to the same river at other points)

2.1.4.4.3 4. others — specify

2.1.4.5. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.4.5.1. in large measure (e.g. *very tall*)

2.1.4.5.2 in superabundance (e.g. *too tall*)

2.1.4.5.3. in small measure (e.g. *rather tall*)

2.1.4 5.4. others — specify

2.1.4.6. With predicative adjectives, are the categories that characterize the verbal morphology of the language

2.1.4.6.1. expressed in the adjective morphology? If so, how?

2.1.4.6.2. expressed by means of a copular verb?

2.1.5. Prepositions/postpositions

2.1.5.1. Give all pre-/postpositions or pre-/postpositional usages not mentioned in 2.1.1. and list these exhaustively together with their grammatical effects.

2.1.5.2. Do prepositions agree for any grammatical category with the nouns they govern?

2.1.5.2.1. If so, describe the system fully.

2.1.5.3. Do prepositions combine with the personal pronouns they govern to form series of personal forms? If so, describe all regularities and irregularities of the system.

2.1.5.4. Do prepositions combine with the articles of the noun phrases they govern to form prepositional articles? If so, describe all regularities and irregularities of the system.

2.1.6. Numerals/quantifiers

2.1.6.1. List the forms of the numerals used in counting, indicating the processes by which new numerals can be created for numbers between those expressed by separate forms.

2.1.6.2. Are distinct cardinal numeral forms used as attributes? If so, specify.

2.1.6.3. Are distinct numerals used for counting different kinds of objects? If so specify.

2.1.6.4. How are ordinal numerals formed?

2.1.6.5. What other derivatives of numerals exist, and how are they formed

2.1.6.6. List all the quantifiers, giving as precise a translation (or explanation) as possible. Quantifiers are words like *some, each, all, every, no, either, neither, both, other.*

2.1.6.6.1. List all quantifier compounds, e.g. English *anyone, everybody, nothing, nowhere, whoever,* Latin *quīvīs, quīcumque.* Indicate all regularities and irregularities in form and meaning within the system.

2.1.6.6.2. Is quantification expressed by any other means, e.g. reduplication of a noun to mean 'every'....?

2.1.7. Adverbs

2.1.7.1. How are various kinds of comparison expressed?

2.1.7.1.1. equality (e.g. *as quickly as*)

2.1.7.1.2. comparative (e.g. *more quickly than*)

2.1.7.1.3. superlative (e.g. *most quickly (of all)*)

2.1.7.1.4. others—specify

2.1.7.2. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.7.2.1. in large measure (e.g. *very quickly*)

2.1.7.2.2. in superabundance (e.g. *too quickly*)

2.1.7.2.3. in small measure (e.g. *rather quickly*)

2.1.7.2.4. others—specify

2.1.8. Clitics

2.1.8.1. What kinds of clitic elements occur in the language?

2.1.8.1.1. personal pronouns

2.1.8.1.2. possessive pronouns

2.1.8.1.3. reflexive pronouns

2.1.8.1.4. reciprocal pronouns

2.1.8.1.5. auxiliary verbs

2.1.8.1.6. sentence (modal, interrogative, negative) particles

2.1.8.1.7. sentence connectives

2.1.8.1.8. anaphoric particles

2.1.8.1.9. others—specify

2.1.8.2. What positions do these clitics occupy?

2.1.8.2.1. preverbal

2.1.8.2.2. postverbal

2.1.8.2.3. sentence-final

2.1.8.2.4. sentence-initial

2.1.8.2.5. sentence-second position; if so, how is this defined (e.g. after first phonological word? after first phrasal constituent)?

2.1.8.2.6. other positions—specify

2.1.8.3. What is the relative order of clitics?

2.1.8.4. Are there any restrictions on possible combinations of clitics?

2.1.8.5. Are there means of expressing the meaning of the excluded combinations?

2.2. Derivational morphology

What possibilities exist for deriving members of one category from those of the same or another category? For each pair of categories, indicate the formal means of derivation, and their semantic correlates. Are any of these processes iterative (e.g. double diminutive, causative of causative)? Indicate the degree of productivity of each process, and of its semantic regularity.

2.2.1.1. nouns from nouns

2.2.1.2. nouns from verbs

2.2.1.2.1. To what extent is the syntax of deverbal nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a nonderived noun?

2.2.1.3. nouns from adjectives

2.2.1.3.1. To what extent is the syntax of deadjectival nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a nonderived noun?

2.2.1.4. nouns from adverbs

2.2.1.5. nouns from any other category

2.2.2.1. verbs from nouns

2.2.2.2. verbs from verbs (see also the section on voice, 2.1.3.1)
2.2.2.3. verbs from adjectives
2.2.2.4. verbs from adverbs
2.2.2.5. verbs from any other category
2.2.3.1. adjectives from nouns
2.2.3.2. adjectives from verbs
2.2.3.3. adjectives from adjectives
2.2.3.4. adjectives from adverbs
2.2.3.5. adjectives from any other category
2.2.4.1. adverbs from nouns
2.2.4.2. adverbs from verbs
2 2.4.3. adverbs from adjectives
2.2.4.4. adverbs from adverbs
2.2.4.5. adverbs from any other category
2.2 5. any other possibilities

2.2.6.1. Describe the possibilities for forming complex pre-/post-positions.

2.2.6.1.1. two prepositions (distinguish genuine compound prepositions of the type *on to* from sequences resulting from cases where a preposition has as its argument a prepositional phrase, e.g. *from behind.* In English these can for example be distinguished by means of the modification, e.g. *from ten yards behind the car, *on ten yards to the table)*

2.2.6.1.2. nominal formations, e.g. *in front of*
2.2.6.1.3. verbal formations, e.g. *depending on*
2.2.6.1.4. adjectival formations
2.2.6.1.5. other types

2.2.6.2. Are there simple derived prepositions?
2.2.6.2.1. denominal
2.2.6.2.2. deverbal, e.g. *given*
2.2.6.2.3. deadjectival, e.g. *like*
2.2.6.2.4. others

2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

What possibilities exist for compounding members of the same or different categories, and what semantic value(s) does each have? Answer for each of the combinations in 2.2.1—5. Indicate whether the components of a compound word may themselves be compound (e.g. English *blackboard eraser*).

3. Phonology

The following questions are concerned with the distinctive phonological units of the language, their phonetic realization, their distribution, and their morphophonological relationships with each other.

All examples cited in section 3 should be glossed. The IPA phonetic symbols should be used for examples wherever they exist. Articulations not provided for in the IPA system may be represented by any standard typographic symbol not otherwise utilized in the description.

Articulatory descriptions of phonetic elements should be made in terms of the double-naming system as far as the place of articulation is concerned. At least the following categories occur.

active articulator	*passive articulator*	*traditional nomenclature*
labic–	labial	(bi) labial
labio–	dental	labiodental
denti–	dental	
apico–	labial	
apico–	interdental	(inter) dental
apico–	dental	dental
apico–	alveolar	alveolar
apico–	postalveolar	postalveolar/retroflex
apico–	palatal	retroflex
lamino–	interdental	(inter) dental
lamino–	dental	dental
lamino–	alveolar	alveolar
lamino–	postalveolar	palatoalveolar
sublamino–	palatal	retroflex
dorso–	postalveolar	alveolopalatal
dorso–	palatal	palatal
dorso–	velar	velar
dorso–	uvular	uvular
radico–	pharyngeal	pharyngeal
glottal		glottal

and also coarticulated combinations of these.

The following secondary articulations may occur :

1. glottalization
2. pharyngealization

3. velarization
4. palatalization
5. labialization
6 nazalization
7. other
8. combinations thereof

As far as the manner of articulation is concerned, the following categories should be recognized:

a) for nonsyllabics (consonants)
 1. plosive (plain)
 2. affricate
 3. fricative
 4. approximant (approximation of two articulators without producing a turbulent airstream)
 5. trill (one articulator vibrating against another)
 6. tap (one articulator thrown against another)
 7. flap (one articulator striking another in passing)
 8. nasal

b) for syllabics
 1. vowel
 2. syllabic nasal
 3. syllabic fricative
 4. etc.

It will also be necessary to distinguish laterals.

Differences in voice onset may occur:

1. fully voiced
2. partially voiced
3. voiceless unaspirated
4. aspirated
5. others

Different types of voicing may occur:

1. ordinary voicing
2. creaky voice
3. breathy voice
4. murmur
5. others

Describe the airstream mechanisms as

1. pulmonic egressive
2. implosive (to be distinguished carefully from glottalised, i.e. with glottal constriction)
3. ejective (idem)
4. velaric ingressive
5. others

3.1. Phonological units (segmental)

3.1.1. What are the distinctive segments of the language?

3.1.2. List the elements as follows, giving details of any significant allophony and phonetic realization:

3.1.2.1. nonsyllabics

3.1.2.1.1. plosives and affricates

3.1.3.1.2. fricatives

3.1.2.1.3. nasals (not nasalized or prenasalized elements, only true nasals)

3.1.2.1.4. liquids

3.1.2.1.5. glides/semivowels (describe the phonetic realization of semivowels in terms of vowel positions)

3 1.2.1.6. others

3.1.2.2. syllabics

3.1.2.2.1. vowels: plain, nasalized, glottalized, pharyngealized, etc. (significant degrees of these may occur)

3.1.2.2.2. others

3.1.2.3. Do any of the above occur only in recognizable (to the speakers loanwords? Which?

3.1.2.4. Are there restrictions on the occurrence of any of the above units in any wordclasses? Which and where?

3.2. Phonotactics

3.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2.1.1. wordfinal consonants?

3.2.1.1.1. If so, describe any restrictions.

3.2.1.2. initial consonants?

3.2.1.2.1. If so, describe any restrictions.

3.2.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2 2.1.1. wordinitial consonant clusters?

3.2.2.1.2. wordfinal consonant clusters?

3.2.2.1.3. wordmedial consonant clusters?

3.2 2.2. Describe the possible

3.2.2.2.1. wordinitial consonant clusters.

3.2.2.2.2. wordfinal consonant clusters.

3.2 2.3. Describe the possible wordmedial consonant clusters if they differ from the product of the final and initial clusters.

3.2.3. Does the language admit

3.2.3.1. wordfinal vowels?

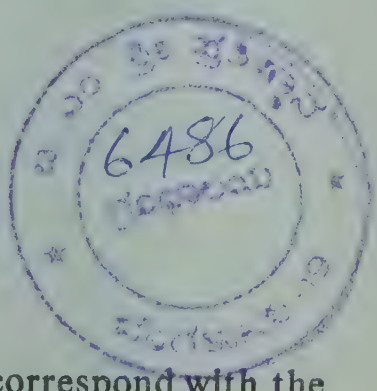
3.2.3.1.1. If so, describe any restrictions.

3.2 3.2. wordinitial vowels?

3.2.3.2.1. If so, describe any restrictions.

3.2.3.3. sequences of (syllabic) vowels?

3.2.3.3.1. If so, describe any restrictions.



3.2.4. Does the structure of lexical morphemes correspond with the possibilities for wordstructure? If not, how does it differ?

3.2.5.1. Describe how medial units or clusters are assigned to syllables. Does this depend on morphological structure?

3.2.5.2. What is the canonical syllable type?

3.2.6.1. Are there any restrictions between word/syllable initial units or clusters and the following vowels or syllabic elements? Describe these.

3.2.6.2. Are there any restrictions between word/syllable final units or clusters and the preceding vowels or syllabic elements? Describe these.

3.2.6.3. Are there any restrictions between syllable initial units or clusters and syllable final units or clusters, or next-syllable initial units or clusters? Describe these.

3.2.6.4. Are there any restrictions between the vowels or syllabics of successive syllables, in other words does the language display vowel harmony? If so, does this apply across morpheme boundaries, or only within morphemes? Are there any exceptions to morpheme internal or cross morpheme vowel harmony? If so, describe these.

3.2 6.5. Does consonant harmony exist? If so, describe.

3.2.6.6. Are there any other restrictions between adjacent or nonadjacent units or clusters? If so, describe these.

3.2.6.7. Are there any differences between the phonotactic patterns allowed with different word classes? If so, describe these.

3.3. Suprasegmentals

3.3.1. Are there distinctive degrees of length in

3.3.1.1. vowels?

3.3.1.2. other syllabics?

3.3.1.3. glides/semivowels?

3.3.1.4. liquids?

3.3.1.5. nasals?

3.3.1.6. fricatives?

3.3.1.7. stops and fricatives?

Illustrate for each of these the different degrees of length.

3.3.2.1. Does stress play any role in the language?

3.3.2.2. What is/are the phonetic correlate(s) of stress in the language?

3.3.2.3. Is there a distinction between different levels of stress (as opposed to nonstress)? If so, illustrate, indicating how the different stress levels are realized phonetically.

3.3.2.4. Is the position of stress constant, e.g. always on the first syllable antepenultimate syllable, etc.? If so, illustrate.

3.3.2.5. If the position of the stress is not constant, is it forecastable solely in terms of the phonotactic structure of the word? If so, describe the rules that determine its placement.

3.3.2.6. If not, is the situation the same as in 3.3 2.4—5 with the exception of a small number of forms? Give these. Are they recognizable loanwords?

3.3.2.7. For further questions on stress, see the section on morphophonology (3.5)

3.3.3.1. Does the language make a distinctive use of pitch (are there forms distinguished purely by pitch)?

3.3.3 2 Is pitch used to distinguish lexical items from one another?

3.3.3.3. Is the use of pitch distinctive for only a small portion of the vocabulary?

3.3.3.4. Is pitch used to distinguish morphologically different forms of the same word or lexeme?

3.3.3.5. What are the different tones (distinctive pitch types) within syllables?

3.3.3.5.1. level tones—list

3.3.3.5.2. contour tones—list

3.3.3.6. Are any of these tones restricted in their occurrence to particular types of syllabic element (e.g. contour tones only on long vowels)

3.3 3.7. Are any of these tones restricted to occurring after particular types of nonsyllabic (consonant) or restricted to occurring before particular types of nonsyllabic (consonant) or subject to a combination of these restrictions? Describe.

3.3.3.8.1. List the tones occurring on monosyllables.

3.3.3.8.2. List the possible sequences of tones occurring with

3.3.3.8.2.1. bisyllables.

3.3.3.8.2.2. trisyllables.

3.3.3 8.2.3. quadrisyllables.

3.3.3.9. Is there any general principle governing the possibilities of tonesequences with polysyllables?

3.3.3.10. Describe the interaction of tone and stress, if there is any. (Even if the language does not make distinctive use of pitch, describe the patterns of relative pitch height relative to the stressed elements in a word).

3.3.3.11 1. Does downdrift occur with

3.3.3.11.1.1. sequences of high tones?

3.3.3.11.1.2. sequences of low tones?

3.3.3.11.1.3. sequences of other tones?

3.3.3.11.1.4. alternate high and low tones?

3.3.3 11.1.5. other combinations?

3 3.3.11.2 Does updrift occur? If so, where?

3.3.3.11.3. If down-/updrift occurs with more than one type of sequence, does it proceed at the same rate or a different rate with different sequences?

3.3.3.12. For further questions on tone, see the section on morphophonology (3.5).

3.3.4.1. Describe the major types of intonation pattern having syntactic or semantic, rather than emotional, function, e.g. yes–no question, statement, etc.

3 3.4.2. In normal (noncontrastive, nonemphatic) intonation, where does the intonation peak come? How is this determined? Illustrate with different kinds of sentences.

3.3.4.3. Does the language make use of emphatic intonation? Illustrate fully.

3.3.4.4 Does the language make use of contrastive stress? Describe the effect on the intonation peak and illustrate. Can more than one element in a sentence be contrastively stressed? Illustrate.

3.3.4.5. Within the major intonation types, are there subtypes with partially different patterns? Describe. Do these have any syntactic or semantic implications?

3.3.4.6. Describe the interaction of intonation patterns with the patterns in tone–height due to stress and tone phenomena.

3.3.4.7. Describe any effects on segmental units due to the position of the intonation peak or the type of intonation contour.

3.4. Morphophonology (segmental)

In sections 3.4 and 3.5, indicate the conditioning factors for the phenomena discussed.

3.4.1.1. Are there assimilatory processes in the phonology (morphophonology) of the language? Give at least details of such processes that involve alternations between different phonemes (indicating whether or not productive), and any others involving significant phonetic changes.

3.4.1.2. Are there dissimilatory processes? Give full details including productivity.

3.4.1.3. Are there other alternations between segments? Describe all such alternations, giving details of the degree of productivity involved

3 4.2. Are there metathesis processes? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4 3. Are there processes of coalescence or split (syntagmatic) in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.4.1. Are there deletion processes in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.4.2. Are there insertion processes in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.5. Are there processes of reduplication (partial or complete) in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.6. Other processes.

N.B. In the discussion of all the above processes, indicate whether recent loanwords undergo them or not.

3.5. Morphophonology (suprasegmental)

3.5.1.1. Is the stress constant under morphological processes and compounding?

3.5.1.2. If not, describe the various changes in stress-assignment and the types of process that inspire these changes exhaustively.

3.5.1.3. Is the position of the stress forecastable in terms of the phonological structure of the stem and the morphological and compounding processes it undergoes?

3.5.1.4. If not, is it the case that all instances are predictable except for a small number? If so, list these.

3.5.2.1. Is the tonal structure of the stem constant under processes of morphological change and compounding?

3.5.2.2. If not, describe the various changes that occur and the types of process that inspire them exhaustively.

3.5.2.3. List all forms with irregular tonal behaviour and illustrate the conditions under which they behave irregularly.

3.5.2.4.1. Does downstep or upstep occur and if so, under what circumstances?

3.5.2.4.2. Does double or multiple downstep/upstep occur? If so, in what circumstances?

3.5.3. Do particular types of intonation pattern cause any phonological change in the segmental elements they overlie? If so, describe fully.

4. Ideophones and interjections

4.1. Does the language make use of ideophones? If so, give as complete a list as possible.

4.2. Does the language make use of interjections that do not conform to the regular principles regarding the phonological structure of words? If so, give as many examples of such forms as possible.

5. Lexicon

5.1. Structured semantic fields

List the lexical items in the following semantic fields, with glosses or explanations, indicating the parameters that are relevant to the semantic distinctions made :

5.1.1. kinship terminology

5.1.1.1. by blood

5.1.1.2. by partial blood

5.1.1.3. by marriage

5.1.1.4. by adoption

5.1 1.4.1. permanent/temporary

5.1.1.4.2. religious/secular

5 1.1.5. by fostering

5.1.1.6. by affiliation

5.1.1.7. other parameters

5.1.2. colour terminology

Distinguish basic colour terms and other colour terms that indicate finer distinctions within the basic terms. Where possible, for each colour term indicate (a) its approximate range (b) its locus (the most typical value referred to by that colour term).

5.1.3. body parts

5.1.4. cooking terminology

5.1.5. any other structured semantic fields

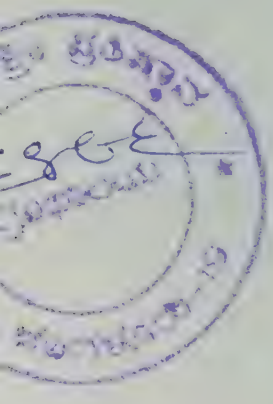
5.2 Basic vocabulary

Give the normal equivalent, in the language concerned, of the following items:

5.2.1. all	5.2.21. child	5.2.41. eye
5 2 2. and	5.2.22. claw	5 2.42. fall
5.2.3. animal	5 2.23 cloud	5.2.43. far
5.2 4 ashes	5.2.24. cold	5.2.44. fat/grease
5.2.5. at	5.2.25. come	5.2.45. father
5.2.6. back	5 2.26. count	5.2.46. fear
5.2.7. bad	5.2.27. cut	5 2.47. feather
5.2.8. bark	5.2.28. day	5.2.48. few
5 2.9. because	5.2 29. die	5.2.49. fight
5.2.10. belly	5.2.30. dig	5.2.50. fire
5.2.11. big	5.2.31. dirty	5.2.51. fish
5.2.12. bird	5.2.32. dog	5.2.52. five
5 2.13. bite	5.2.33. drink	5.2.53. float
5 2.14. black	5.2.34. dry	5.2 54. flow
5.2.15. blood	5.2.35. dull	5.2.55. flower
5.2.16. blow	5.2.36. dust	5.2.56. fly
5.2.17. bone	5.2 37. ear	5.2.57. fog
5 2.18. breast	5 2.38. earth	5 2.58 foot
5.2 19. breathe	5.2.39. eat	5.2.59. four
5.2.20. burn	5.2.40. egg	5.2.60. freeze

5.2.61. fruit
5.2.62. full
5.2.63. give
5.2.64. good
5.2.65. grass
5.2.66. green
5.2.67. guts
5.2.68. hair
5.2.69. hand
5.2.70. he
5.2.71. head
5.2.72. hear
5.2.73. heart
5.2.74. heavy
5.2.75. here
5.2.76. hit
5.2.77. hold/take
5.2.78. horn
5.2.79. how
5.2.80. hunt
5.2.81. husband
5.2.82. I
5.2.83. ice
5.2.84. if
5.2.85. in
5.2.86. kill
5.2.87. knee
5.2.88. know
5.2.89. lake
5.2.90. laugh
5.2.91. leaf
5.2.92. leftside
5.2.93. leg
5.2.94. lie (i.e. be in lying position)
5.2.95. live
5.2.96. liver
5.2.97. long
5.2.98. louse
5.2.99. man/male
5.2.100. many
5.2.101. meat/flesh
5.2.102. moon
5.2.103. mother
5.2.104. mountain
5.2.105. mouth
5.2.106. name
5.2.107. narrow
5.2.108. near
5.2.109. neck
5.2.110. new
5.2.111. night
5.2.112. nose
5.2.113. not
5.2.114. old
5.2.115. one
5.2.116. other
5.2.117. person
5.2.118. play
5.2.119. pull
5.2.120. push
5.2.121. rain
5.2.122. red
5.2.123. right/correct
5.2.124. rightside
5.2.125. river
5.2.126. road
5.2.127. root
5.2.128. rope
5.2.129. rotten
5.2.130. round
5.2.131. rub
5.2.132. salt
5.2.133. sand
5.2.134. say
5.2.135. scratch
5.2.136. sea
5.2.137. see
5.2.138. seed
5.2.139. sew
5.2.140. sharp
5.2.141. short
5.2.142. sing
5.2.143. sit
5.2.144. skin
5.2.145. sky
5.2.146. sleep
5.2.147. small
5.2.148. smell
5.2.149. smoke
5.2.150. smooth
5.2.151. snake
5.2.152. snow
5.2.153. some
5.2.154. spit
5.2.155. split
5.2.156. squeeze
5.2.157. stab/pierce
5.2.158. stand
5.2.159. star
5.2.160. stick
5.2.161. stone
5.2.162. straight
5.2.163. suck
5.2.164. sun
5.2.165. swell
5.2.166. swim
5.2.167. tail
5.2.168. that
5.2.169. there
5.2.170. they
5.2.171. thick
5.2.172. thin
5.2.173. think

5.2.174. this
5.2.175. thou
5.2.176. three
5.2.177. throw
5.2.178. tie
5.2.179. tongue
5.2.180. tooth
5.2.181. tree
5.2.182. turn
5.2.183. two
5.2.184. vomit
5.2.185. walk
5.2.186. warm
5.2.187. wash
5.2.188. water
5.2.189. we
5.2.190. wet
5.2.191. what
5.2.192. when
5.2.193. where
5.2.194. white
5.2.195. who
5.2.196. wide
5.2.197. wife
5.2.198. wind
5.2.199. wing
5.2.200. wipe
5.2.201. with
5.2.202. woman
5.2 203. woods
5.2.204. worm
5.2.205. ye
5.2.206. year
5.2.207. yellow



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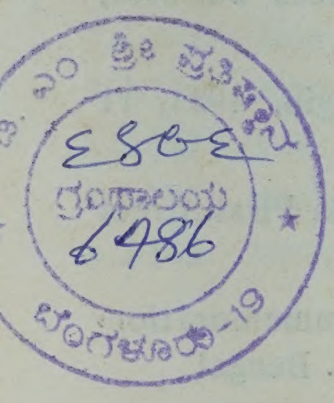
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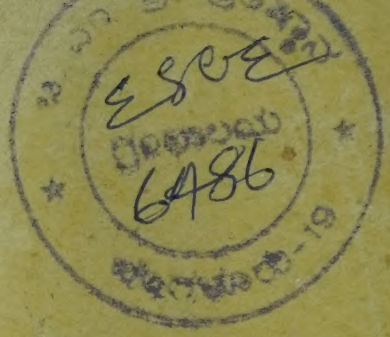
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